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Monday September 16 1996  
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France FF 12  
Germany DM 3.50  
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Slovenia S 100  
Spain P 200  
Sweden SK 17  
Switzerland SF 3.20  
Thailand B 30  
Turkey TL 100.000  
USA US 2.00  
USSR 2.00

# The Guardian International

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

46,659

Henry Porter: the blitz on our countryside

## The end of tranquillity

G2 with European weather



McColgan wins the Great North Run

## SportExtra

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Media

## Clive Hollick backs Blair. But will his newspapers?

Page 7/9

# Labour summit to fight revolt threat

David Hencke  
Westminster Correspondent

**T**ONY Blair is to call a summit of two of his most trusted colleagues, Gordon Brown and David Blunkett, this week to head off a policy defeat at next month's party conference as relations between the leadership and the unions plummet.

Mr Brown, the shadow Chancellor, looks like being told that he must accept a U-turn over his plan to abolish child benefit for the over-16s, to please unions angry at Labour's determination not to set a figure for a minimum wage nor rule out more curbs on strikes.

The Labour leadership faces a difficult party conference in two weeks with rows on funding state pensions looming between Harriet Harman, the party's social security spokeswoman, and the veteran leftwing campaigner Barbara Castle, as well as on likely challenges on tax, defence, and a minimum wage.

A revised plan for child benefit looks essential to avoid alienating skilled blue collar workers, whose antipathy to the projected loss of benefits worth over £10 a week for the first child and £8.80 for other children is being exploited by the Tories. Any policy change, however, would force Labour to explain how its proposal of further education allowances for the over-16s would be funded.

Mr Blair's action comes as relations between the modernising wing of the party and the trade unions and left sink further, following the call by Kim Howells, the trade spokesman for use of the word socialisation to end something that even the leader has avoided. Dr Howells, who has a track record for thinking the unthinkable, said in the Sunday Times: "I am interested only in convincing the electorate that Labour is seeking contemporary solutions to problems. If that means dropping the epithet socialist so be it."

He added: "We have broken

the habit of feeling guilty each time we open our mouths without first genuflecting to socialist shrines."

Dr Howells angered the left, but also drew a call from Tony Benn, the Labour MP for Chesterfield, for no negative campaigning by the left against modernisers like Dr Howells. "At least Dr Howells had the courage to say what he said openly rather than hiding behind an anonymous spokesman."

He added: "But we must emphasise Labour's policies on the need for full employment, good pensions and proper jobs and a decent National Health Service."

He was supported this morning by publication of the 1996 Guardian-ICM State of the Nation opinion poll, in which 48 per cent of the electorate — and 61 per cent of Labour voters — agree with the statement "More socialist planning would be the best way of solving Britain's economic problems".

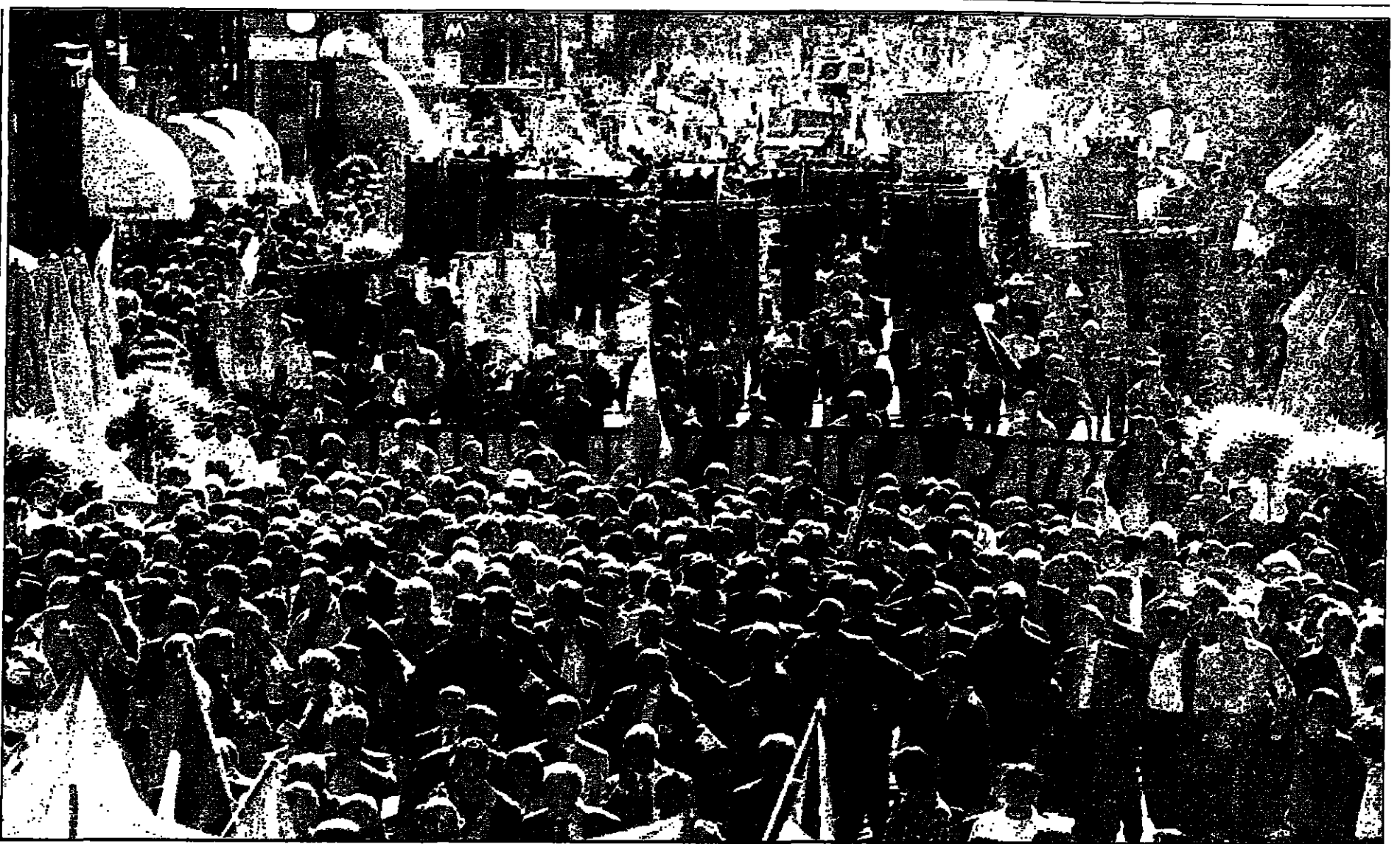
Only 31 per cent of the electorate (and a mere 16 per cent of Labour voters) disagree. This poll is at odds with one in the Observer yesterday, which suggested that Dr Howells may have more public support for ditching socialism.

Meanwhile, Labour's spin doctors were hard at work yesterday trying to prevent further embarrassing differences in the party emerging before the conference. Mr Blunkett, the employment spokesman, also appealed to party members to put behind them differences caused by a series of events, culminating in remarks by his junior spokesman, Stephen Byers, to journalists about ditching union links.

Pre-lessons of Mr Blair's speech to the City tonight indicate he will be emphasising the "New Labour, New Prosperity" catchphrase of the party's new poster campaign.

The feelgood factor in voting Labour will be emphasised by other spokesmen before the conference.

**Leader comment, page 8; Ian Aitken, page 9**



Some 150,000 Italians joined a far-right rally for unity in Milan yesterday, which dwarfed the Northern League's ceremony for 'Padania's independence' PHOTOGRAPH CARLO FERRARO

# Bossi's secessionists give Rome ultimatum

## Blackshirts clash with police in protest against 'Padania'

John Hooper in Venice

**H**UNDREDS of thousands of Italians turned out to demonstrate for and against the unity of their country yesterday as the leader of the Northern League, Umberto Bossi, gave the government one year in which to meet his demands for a formal division between north and south.

Tens of thousands of Mr Bossi's supporters massed beside St Mark's Canal in Venice as he read out a "declaration of independence" modelled on that of the United States founding fathers.

But the league's show of strength was dwarfed by a far-right march in support of unity in Milan, where police estimated the crowd at 150,000.

The league's eccentric ceremony nevertheless represented the most blatant challenge to the legitimacy of the Italian republic since its creation more than 50 years ago. Its leader's 12-month ultimatum threatens to cast a shadow over politics and to renew uncertainty.

In the ugliest incident of the day, police with truncheons laid into extreme rightwing demonstrators in Chioggia, near Venice. The rightwingers, wearing fascist-style black shirts, had tried to attack the secessionist demonstration.

On Friday night, an attack by the far left on a league rally in Turin also ended in violent clashes with police.

As Mr Bossi reached the Venice lagoon yesterday with a flotilla of small craft, the bank was a forest of separatist flags. Surrounded by league MPs, Mr Bossi read out his Declaration of Independence and Sovereignty of Padania — his name for the northern state he seeks to create — which begins by quoting Thomas Jefferson.

The Northern League, which won only 10 per cent of the vote in the general election last April, sprang up in protest at the waste, corruption and inefficiency of central government. It is strong around Milan and Venice, but Mr Bossi's state would stretch south to within 60 miles of Rome.

After a long list of grievances, he declared: "We, the peoples of Padania, solemnly proclaim that Padania is a federal, independent and sovereign republic."

An Italian flag flying beside the podium was then lowered. As a detachment of the league's green-shirted National Guards replaced it with the standard of Padania — a white flag bearing a six-petaled green flower — doves were released and the crowd of up to 30,000 cheered.

But in Milan, the former neo-fascist leader Gianfranco Fini told his followers: "Italy is here. Italy will not be divided and it will not be divided." He called Mr Bossi's proclamation of independence "an insult to history and an insult to reason".

Mr Bossi's declaration was accompanied by a "transitional constitution" which made clear that the proclama-

tion of independence would not take effect for up to 12 months. It empowered a "provisional government" formed by Mr Bossi earlier this year to open negotiations aimed at a "treaty of agreed separation".

But it said negotiations "must not continue beyond 16 September 1997". After then, independence would become "fully effective". It said another body created by Mr Bossi had the power to break off talks and declare UDI whenever it saw fit.

It is clear that Mr Bossi has posed a serious puzzle for the centre-left government. It cannot bow to his demands.

yet if it does not, it faces the threat of growing disobedience.

Mr Bossi said on Saturday that the league would form a militia to defend its interests. President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro in turn warned that Mr Bossi could face criminal action. "If someone moves to incite illegal acts, the matter then passes into the hands of magistrates," Mr Scalfaro said.

Although Mr Bossi is already under investigation by prosecutors in Turin, the authorities have been reluctant to play into his hands by arresting him for anti-constitutional acts.

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## Belfast dog has his day of glory by saving girl from firecracker

David Sharrock

**B**ELFAST has seen its share of acts of heroism, but now even the dogs in the street know there's a new pup on the block. He's called Bruno and he's just saved a little girl's life.

The 12-year-old Staffordshire terrier/Labrador cross was relaxing at home in Belfast's Short Strand last night. His owner, Brian McMullan, believes his one-year-old daughter Ann Marie was saved only by Bruno's quick thinking in a fit firecracker which Ann Marie was about to pick up,

and swallowed it. The firecracker, thrown into the McMullan's back yard by youths, exploded.

Mr McMullan said: "The dog was just lying on his back... He was trembling and blood was everywhere — there was even smoke coming out of his mouth. I thought he was a goner." Bruno was rushed to a vet.

Ann Marie's mother, Sharon, is convinced the pet had known what he was doing. "My dog is a hero," she said.

In the late 1980s, a loyalist car bomb destroyed part of the McMullans' house, but Bruno suffered only cuts from flying glass.

# IRA convention may call ceasefire

David Sharrock  
Ireland Correspondent

**T**HE fate of the Northern Ireland Troubles could be decided within a month, it was learned yesterday when security forces on the Irish border revealed that the IRA has called a rare meeting of its supreme authority, the General Army Convention.

The convention — to which representatives of all the IRA's units, commands, brigades and battalions as well as figures from its executive committee, army council and general headquarters staff will attend — may be preceded by further attacks on high-profile targets in England.

But the rarity of such a conference suggests that the IRA may have reached a point of momentous change, with hard decisions facing it on the worth of physical force compared with the political gains made by Sinn Fein during the peace process.

Sinn Fein yesterday rejected the reports. Party president Gerry Adams said:

"It's the first I've heard of it. You have to ask why British military intelligence are putting out these speculative reports. It's to cause confusion in republican ranks and it's not helpful."

Mr Adams made similar remarks a week before the IRA called its ceasefire in August 1994.

The party rejected out of hand press speculation that the Army Convention could take place under the guise of a Sinn Fein-sponsored Irish language conference, scheduled for October 4-6 in Donegal. The last convention was held under similar cover in September 1988 in Co Meath.

The convention will elect a new IRA executive and a pool of substitute executive members to replace any of the 12 as needed. The executive in turn selects a new army council and chief of staff.

But most important of all, the convention can change the IRA's "standing orders" by a two-thirds majority. It is the only body with the power to declare a permanent end to the IRA's campaign.

In Dublin, one Garda source said: "The IRA has been organising meetings at local level around the country." These meetings were selecting representatives for the convention.

"Those in favour of a new ceasefire are in the ascendant. But the hardliners who favour continuation of an armed campaign could equally swing a convention."

In Belfast, senior police officers believe the republican leadership favours ending the IRA campaign, but has been meeting resistance. If that is the case, the timing of the convention suggests that the leadership now believes it has sufficient votes to win.

Garda sources believe the convention will either produce a ceasefire or the offer of one under certain conditions, including Sinn Fein entry into negotiations with the constitutional position of Northern Ireland on the table.

Decommissioning of IRA weaponry — the stone upon which the ceasefire eventually founded in February — is likely to be ruled out.

Sinn Fein's chief negotiator, Martin McGuinness, said last week there would be another ceasefire if "real and meaningful negotiations" took place.

"We in Sinn Fein accept totally that the talks should take place in a completely peaceful environment," he said.

ful negotiations" took place.

"We in Sinn Fein accept totally that the talks should take place in a completely peaceful environment," he said.

**Play whose actors are out on parole, page 5**

**Austin**  
FATHER AND MRS. SMITH  
JETON

Two senior churchmen are in pursuit of the errant Bishop of Argyll and his divorcee friend. Page 3

**Inside**  
A second Newsnight report involving allegations against British Airways has been dropped by the BBC to the anger of its journalists.

**Britain**  
A second Newsnight report involving allegations against British Airways has been dropped by the BBC to the anger of its journalists.

**World News**  
Iraq and America seemed to back away from more military confrontation even as the US build-up in the Gulf continued yesterday.

**Finance**  
Disastrous Tory employment strategy has left one-third of people under the age of 25 jobless.

**Sport**  
Two goals by Patrik Berger, the E3m Czech player, put Liverpool on top of the Premier division yesterday when they beat Leicester 3-0

**Comment and Letters 8**  
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**G2**  
**Crossword 15; Weather 16**  
**Radio 16; TV 16**

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# Blowing the mortgage at Monte Carlo

The big fight for the little money brought some tense faces at the world Monopoly championship - though one contestant saw a night in the disco as a better buy

### Monday sketch



Paul Kelso

**H**UNCHED over a table beneath the chandeliers of the grand casino at Monte Carlo, Mike Grabsky faced a difficult decision. With his resources already overstretched and bankruptcy looming his next move was vital.

The question the Englishman was wrestling with, face contorted into a grimace, was whether to gamble his little all, or play safe and hope to stay in the game until his luck turned. A glance at his opponents' assets, a look skywards, and the decision was made - gamble.

"I'll buy two houses," he muttered before handing over \$200 to the banker and shifting the two little green huts across the board and lining them up neatly on the Virginia Avenue

(in British terms, Northumberland Avenue) space on the board.

WELCOME to the 10th world Monopoly championships, a four-yearly tournament bringing together the cream of the world's living room property magnates to play for the not insubstantial prize of \$15,140 (£10,000), the real money equivalent of the total float in a Monopoly bank, held this year in one of the principality's most opulent hotels, a place where real fortunes are won and lost daily.

Thirty-six national champions, from Argentina to Malaysia, had gathered to vie for the title. While most of the one million people who buy a Monopoly board annually haul the game out for fun only at Christmas, for Grabsky and his opponents it is a deadly serious business. "Obviously it's not the be-all and end-all," said the 37-year-old, "but \$15,000 is a lot of money, and there's pride at stake. I know I'm bloody good and this is my chance to prove it."

The tournament takes place over three days, the first two devoted to preliminary rounds in which competitors play at tables of four, their assets at the end of each game tallied to determine the five top scorers, who today will play one game to the death, the winner being crowned

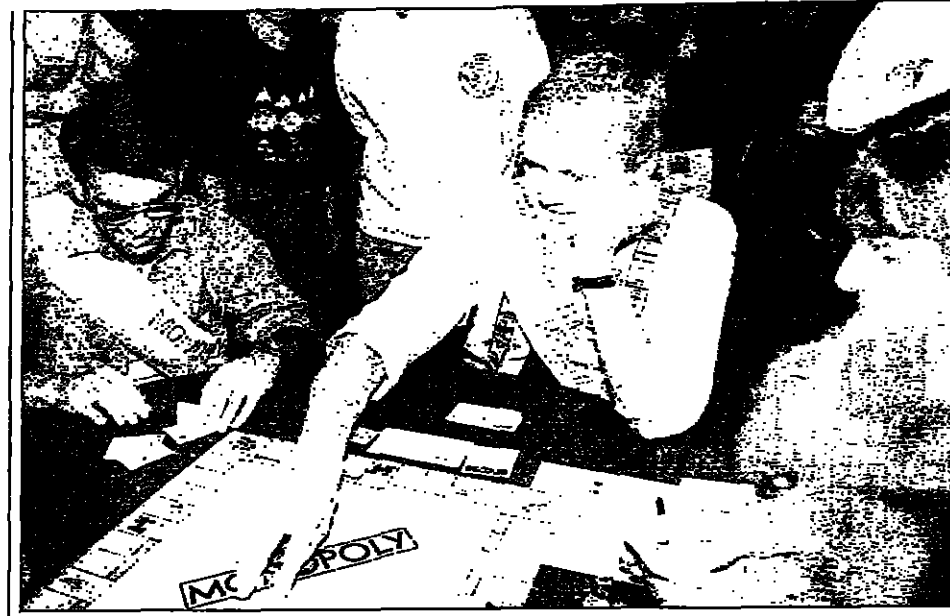
world champion. Pitched in round one against Finnish lawyer Ilkka Mäuranen, Belgian student Gert DeGouffe, and New Zealander Kerry Bell, a bundle of straw-coloured hair who seemed to be the only person in the room not taking the event too seriously, Grabsky was never in trouble.

Luck with the dice and some shrewd purchases left him with control of almost two sides of the board, and 10 minutes before the 90-minute time limit was up, he had bankrupted the table.

"Can't really hope for more than that," he observed afterwards, sucking on a post-match fag and glancing up at the leader board, which showed him in third place, sandwiched between 14-year-old Slovenian, Gasper Petkovsek, and Ng Hong Yuen, a teacher from Hong Kong, whose aim was to "win the tournament not for myself but for the people of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong."

Grabsky, whose brother is the reigning Welsh Cluedo champion, is the second oldest competitor, and one of the more bizarre sights of the weekend was watching a grown man trying every trick in the book to intimidate teenage opponents.

As the rounds progressed, perspective was in ever



Joost Van Orten (centre), defending champion, in action yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: JACQUES SOFFER

shorter supply. Those competitors bankrupted first time round knew that they had to score well in the remaining games to have a chance of making the final, and as the tension mounted in round two, fraying nerves threatened to reduce many of the games to the sort of bad-tempered spat anyone who has

played the game with their family would recognise. Reassuringly for the amateur, most of the arguments were about the laws of the game.

Everyone has their own rules, but the world championships is played under strict American regulations and it was left to head judge, Jack Mcann, a soft-spoken Ameri-

can, and his team of blue-shirted adjudicators to keep the peace, delivering judgment on such pressing issues as time-wasting, whether you could buy houses on someone else's turn, and the always vexed issue of what constitutes a cocked-dice.

Sunday began with high drama. As the contestants

gathered for the day's play, the genial Irish contender, John Stephenson, was nowhere to be seen. Someone mentioned having spotted him leaving the casino on his way to a nightclub at 4am. After 15 minutes, the judges chose to disqualify him.

When he arrived to hear the bad news, looking somewhat the worse for wear, Stephenson did not deny giving in to Monaco's temptations. "I love Monopoly. I think it's a great game," he smiled. "But given a choice, I think we'd all prefer to spend the evening and most of the morning with a pair of backpacking Australian girls in a disco."

Come Sunday morning, things were not looking so good for the British champion. The dice had not been kind to him in game two, but disaster really struck in round three, where an unholy alliance of Russia's Nadya Lebedya, showing surprising aptitude given the game was outlawed in the Soviet Union until 1989, and Frenchman, Jean Francois Perier, conspired to bankrupt him.

Come the afternoon, however, the smile was back on the face of British Monopoly. In the final qualifying round, Grabsky kept his nerve in a tight game and clocked up a record score of \$12,674 to go through to the final as the

How the staged it latest break-out

David Sharrock reports on the origins of the game

"I wouldn't normally bother with the Proms, but this is a bit of a laugh. It's better than The Who, innit?"



Showing the flag as darkness falls are some of the enthusiastic crowd at the Hyde Park event PHOTOGRAPHS: GAVIN SMITH

## England's green and pleasant park

**Adam Sweeting** on the greensward as Proms' last night goes open-air

"THERE'S an amazing sense of community and good nature here tonight," effused compere Sheridan Morley, waxing Sinden-esque to cover the gaps while scene-shifters shoved pianos and music stands around the Hyde Park stage. He was right, though. The first-ever Proms In The Park was not marred by any of the familiar hazards of large open-air events.

Fighting conspicuously failed to break out, there wasn't a pitch invasion, and stage-diving was clearly out of the question.

Last Night of the Proms is still the last bastion of an Englishness which grows more cherished every year as becomes entirely imaginary. The traditional Last Night was going on, as sold out and saturated in Union Jacks as ever, at the Albert Hall, but for the first time, disappointed applicants were offered an alternative.

For £7.50, punters could sit in Hyde Park, watch a parallel Proms first half devised for open-air consumption, then hook into the Albert Hall at 9.15pm via giant video screens for the traditional finale.

Several factors conspired to prod the BBC into this populist leap forward. It's a way of selling 30,000 more tickets. It cashes in on the vogue for classical music in the open air. And it's a way of exploiting the singalong potential of classical music.

The first half at Hyde Park was broadcast on Radio 2, and many diehard classical fans would suggest Radio 3 should wash its hands of the noisy and

uncouth Last Night altogether. This would run contrary to the wishes of Radio 3 supremo, Nicholas Kenyon. But the Proms In The Park experiment was further proof that it is virtually impossible to disentangle how much the British public loves music, and how much it is simply keen to chuck refreshments in the back of the car and spend the day in a field.

The greensward was carpeted with family groups with rugs and camping chairs, wearing stuffed Union Jack top hats while uncorking the Hunter Valley chardonnay and digging out mini-Scottish eggs from Waitrose. Blokes wearing flashing devil-horns swigged from cans of lager, and quened at the fast-food stands. With everything from Japanese and Thai food to baked potatoes and steak sandwiches, it was uncannily like a rock event, except that the artists turned up.

I spoke to Dave, a plasterer from Wandsworth. "I wouldn't normally bother with the Proms, but this is a bit of a laugh," he reasoned. Would he come back next year? "Yeah. It's better than The Who, innit?" The Newmans had driven up from the Cotswolds with their two children. "The weather forecast was good, so we took a chance," said Susan. "Usually we prefer baroque music, but this is great fun for the kids."

As a heroic sunset flamed over Heathrow, it was only fitting that the music was sentimental. James Galway puffed prettily down his flute, the Labèque Sisters plinked out bits of West Side Story in contrasting silk dresses and on matching pianos, and Maria Ewing - the Olive Oyl of the concert platform - was the latest diva to convince herself she can sing popular songs. Thank God it didn't rain.



Other members of the audience get into the mood of the occasion

## Tradition that never flags

### Review

#### Edward Greenfield

**Last Night at the Proms** Royal Albert Hall Radios 1 and 2, BBC1, BBC2

"DON'T think they could hear us in the park," said Andrew Davis as a challenge, rallying the promoters inside the Royal Albert Hall to a second and even louder encore of Land of Hope and Glory. Clearly a new tradition has been created for the hoary ritual of the Last Night of the Proms, and who is going to complain about having a 25,000-strong overflow in Hyde Park, as long as the weather is as fine as it was on Saturday?

As any dedicated Prommer will tell you, there's no substitute for being in the hall, with an atmosphere that tingles, gets you responding to absurd rituals, making you stand up and sit down like a jack-in-the-box, while relishing the mass

of waving flags. This year I was delighted to see that the two biggest flags were the European Union's circle of stars. And these days it is good to have flags of all nations - Germany, Sweden, Austria and Japan and so on. The Last Night of the Proms is about music, not patriotism.

Even so, I admit there are advantages in not being there. The sound achieved by BBC engineers is clearer than the live one, even in the improved RAH, and the introductions James Naughtie fill in background left out by the printed programme.

This time it was good on BBC2 to have a few words from the Danish composer, Poul Ruders, about his Concerto in Pieces, a set of Purcell variations written in tribute not just to Purcell but to Benjamin Britten in his Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra.

Ruders has the gift of being at once clean-cut and original, writing an ear-tickling display piece that exactly suited the occasion, with no chance of drawing the shock-horror

response Harrison Birtwistle's marvellously provocative Panic did last year.

This was the seventh time Andrew Davis has conducted the Last Night and, though his speech at the end was more formal than usual what makes his direction so endearing is the way he revels in the occasion.

The two pairs of soloists were nicely chosen for contrast - Joanna MacGregor alongside the spunky trumpeter, John Wallace, playing Shostakovich's Piano Concerto No 1, and the much-loved vocal duo of Felicity Lott and Ann Murray in a wide variety of items, ending with an unscheduled Cat Duet, acted out in seeming venom with accompaniment from Davis at the piano.

And when I heard my Radio 2 recording of what had gone on at the Prom in the Park, with James Galway, the Labèque Sisters and Maria Ewing as soloists, and had seen, on television, punters enjoying al fresco picnics, I wondered whether another year I might forsake the hall itself.

## Lawyers establish caesarean hotline

### Clare Dyer Legal Correspondent

**A** 24-HOUR legal hotline has been set up for obstetricians to use in life-or-death emergencies where women refuse to have their babies delivered by caesarean section.

The move follows two cases last June, when lawyers for NHS trusts won court authorisation for caesareans while women were in labour. The decisions were taken behind closed doors in the High Court's family division.

Barbara Hewson, a leading barrister, is so concerned that she is offering free legal advice to women under pressure to have caesareans. "I'm dismayed that judges are imposing interventions like caesareans, which have their own risks," she said. "Courts are not hearing [women's] side of the story."

The hotline has been set up by the law firm Hempsons, which acts for 70 health authorities and trusts, and which won one of the court orders. Mr Justice Johnson, who heard both cases, approved one operation less than an hour after Hempsons

had been contacted by Rochdale Healthcare NHS Trust, and after hearing a two-minute explanation of the facts by Hempsons partner Bertie Leigh. The mother was not represented in either case.

The proportion of babies born by caesarean has quadrupled in the last 20 years. One in seven - 100,000 a year - is delivered surgically.

However, under English law mentally competent patients cannot be forced to undergo an operation, even if they would die without it or the foetus is in danger. The Court of Appeal held in 1988 that the law may not coerce a mother for the benefit of her unborn child.

Both women in the recent cases went into labour on June 21. The first, identified only as W, arrived at a Norwich hospital at 8am, already in labour. She had had no antenatal care and kept denying she was pregnant.

W had already had three children by caesarean, and the obstetrician feared that if labour continued her old scars would reopen, endangering her and the foetus, and that the baby would suffocate unless it was born by 6pm.

At 5.15pm Mr Leigh arrived

at court and asked the judge to hear an even more urgent application by a consultant trying to deliver the baby of the second woman, C.

In a two-minute hearing, Mr Leigh told the judge the doctor feared C's uterus was rupturing and he would have to deliver the baby by 5.30pm if it and C were to survive. C, who had had a previous caesarean, had said she would rather die than have another.

Mr Leigh said he put no pressure on the judge. "I simply told him the patient would be dead in an hour if a caesarean was not carried out. I said do you want to make an order or not?" he said.

The judge made the order, but the patient had already consented. Shortly after, the judge authorised W's operation after being told a psychiatrist thought she was not able to balance information so as to choose. Both mothers and babies survived.

The judge later said the women were not capable of deciding while in a stressful and painful labour. W had a psychiatric history and C, who appeared to accept she would die, could not "weigh up the considerations so as to make any valid decision".

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BBC

- The 1996 Henry Wood Promenade Concerts achieved record attendances: 89.3 per cent of seats sold.
- There were 72 concerts in 88 days at the Royal Albert Hall in central London. More than 240,000 tickets were sold.
- Created in 1865 by the conductor Sir Henry Wood, the Proms have been run by the BBC since 1927.
- Until 1941, when it was destroyed by a bomb, the Proms took place at the Queen's Hall in Regent Street.
- 24 of this year's concert were recorded by the BBC for broadcast and distribution to more than 40 countries.

مكتبة النجف





"This play isn't about us shifting away from the political struggle into the arts so much as attempting to bring the arts into the political struggle."

- Micheal MacGiolla Ghunna, the narrator

# How the IRA staged its latest break-out

David Sharrock reports on a drama that originated behind prison bars

IT WAS a gathering the like of which republican West Belfast has not seen for many years and the occasion was sombre as well as celebratory. Down the road the cinema was showing Some Mother's Son, about the 1981 hunger strike. But in St Agnes parish hall in Andersonstown they couldn't have cared less. Among the sell-out audience of 600 were more experts on that period than have ever sat together before.

POWs Drama Group. This was a one-off performance for a special reason: eight of the cast are serving IRA prisoners on weekend parole. Between the ages of 25 and 35, they had committed offences such as possession of explosives and firearms in the late 1980s and were now reaching the end of their sentences. The play has been on tour since 1995 - around the H-blocks of the Maze prison. Some of the cast described how it came about. Martin Og Meehan, son of the veteran Ardoyne republican of the same name, admitted that until prison he had never been one for poetry. "However, the words of Bobby Sands took their hold on me," Dan Kelly recalled the premiere in a wing canteen. "One thing we could be assured of was a captive audience."

Facing them were friends and families of the hunger strikers, who were called up before the play began to be presented with commemorative plaques by Raymond McCartney, the former "blanketman". All but two families turned up to watch. The father of hunger striker Raymond McCreech sent his apologies for not being able to attend - it was his 80th birthday. Danny Morrison, former Sinn Fein director of publicity and right-hand man of Gerry Adams, did the honours. The Crime of Castlereagh cost £7,000 to produce, receiving sponsorship from, among others, Belfast city council, the Northern Ireland Probation Board, and the Arts Council of Northern Ireland. A glossy programme accompanying the £5 tickets described the cast's roads to artistic endeavour but omitted details of what had led to their imprisonment. The play, three interlinked

pieces called the Crime of Castlereagh, Diplock Court and H-Block Torture Mill, charts the course of IRA men like Sands through the "Castlereagh confession machine" to imprisonment in the late 1970s when the "peace process" was not even a distant dream.

Authors and activists 1939 for possessing explosives. Author of Borstal Boy; plays include The Hostage. GERRY ADAMS, president of Sinn Fein. Author of five books, including essays, short stories and autobiography, Before the Dawn. DANNY MORRISON, former Sinn Fein director of publicity, recently served sentence for false imprisonment. Author of On the Back of the Swallow. Bobby's sister, Micheal MacGiolla Ghunna was the play's narrator and the reason for its postponement. It should have been staged during the summer's West Belfast Festival, but he was denied parole. The play was unapologetically republican, he said. "This play isn't about us shifting our attention away from the political struggle into the arts so much as attempting to bring the arts into the political struggle. "We don't believe it is a piece of crude propaganda... it could be part of a process of reconciliation and ultimately of peace and justice."

Scenes of violence in the play - all of it from the state, none by the IRA - reduced many to tears. Thirty-eight relatives of the hunger strikers were reserved places among an audience which included Gerry Adams, Gerry Kelly, Joe Cahill, and Marcella Sands.



IRA man is taken for interrogation and (top left) another moment from the production PHOTOGRAPHS: KELVIN BOYES and STEPHEN DAVISON

## MEXICAN CHILLI CON GARNAGE.

Ingredients:  
For this you need one eighteen year old girl and several policemen.

Method:  
Blindfold girl. Rape. Apply electric shocks to nipples. Push head into vat of water. Force carbonated water and chilli powder up nose. Beat till tender.

Independent inquiry backs compulsory insurance but ministers say it would be too complex and costly

# Old age care plan 'unfair'

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent THE Government is flatly rejecting the recommendations of an independent inquiry which today calls for a compulsory insurance scheme to meet the costs of caring for the growing numbers of Britain's elderly people. Ministers are dismissing the idea as a "new and unfair tax" and say the system required to administer it would be complex, bureaucratic and prohibitively expensive. The Labour Party is also distancing itself from the prospect of a new earnings levy, put provisionally at 1.5 per cent of income. However, shadow ministers say they will study the proposals of the inquiry set up by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The inquiry has been the most in-depth and broadly based study of long-term or continuing care, drawing together 14 experts from health and social services

claimed the implications of population trends had been overstated and insisted there was no need for radical measures. Today's report describes as "implausible" the Department of Health's cost forecasts, on which the committee based its views. Richard Best, co-author of the report, warned it could be "calamitous" if no action was taken. The report proposes drawing a distinction between the costs of social care delivered to elderly people in care homes, or in their own homes, and the "hotel" costs incurred in care homes in respect of accommodation and food. While the latter should remain means-tested, so that those deemed able to afford it should pay, the former would become free. After saving £240 million a year by proposing withdrawal of the right to attendance allowance benefit after four weeks in private care homes, net annual costs of this plan are put at an initial £540 million. These costs would be met from the planned insurance

scheme, which would be run in partnership with the private finance sector. On the basis of average contributions of £250 a year there would be upper and lower limits on earnings affected - the scheme would draw in more than £3 billion annually, increasing further through investment. Depending on contribution records, the scheme would meet both social care and hotel costs, with any shortfall in funds for the former being underwritten by the state and any in respect of the latter being met by means-tested charges. As the scheme matured, people's liability for hotel costs would diminish. Estimates suggest that such costs account for 55-60 per cent of fees in residential homes and 35-40 per cent of fees in nursing homes. The inquiry team admits that its proposals offer nothing for people under 65, 14,000 of whom are in nursing homes because of long-term conditions, and that they raise questions about whether 57,000 people in NHS

continuing care beds should be charged for hotel costs. However, Sir Peter Barclay, health minister, said the aim had been to strike a balance between fairness and prudence. Elderly care charities welcomed the proposals, but Simon Burns, junior health minister, said there was no need for them as the current system of community care was delivering affordable and sustainable help for elderly people. "Today's report sets out proposals which would impose a new and unfair tax," Pessa Jowell, shadow health minister, said the report would feed into Labour's planned royal commission on long-term care. Before any insurance scheme was considered, however, it was essential to sort out the argument over costs of population trends and to make the existing system work more efficiently. Meeting the Costs of Continuing Care; York Publishing Services, 64, Halfpenny Road, York YO3 6LP; £11.95 (Summary £5)

How the sums would add up IT would take 40 years for an individual on average earnings to build up enough credit in the planned insurance scheme to meet both the typical residential care and "hotel" costs of a residential or nursing home. A 25-year-old who paid into the scheme for the rest of their working life would require no social care subsidy and would not have to face means-tested charges for any shortfall in the insurance funds available for accommodation and food. A 55-year-old, or anybody who reached retirement age with 10 years' contributions under their belt, would have enough for about a quarter of typical costs. The shortfall in social care costs would be met by local authority funds, but the individual would have to pay means-tested charges for the balance in hotel costs.

This happened to an 18 year old girl called Julieta. She was later freed without charge. In Mexico today human rights are cheap. Torture is common. 'Tehuacanazo' is forcing fizzy water up the nose. Half-suffocating someone with plastic bags is called 'la bolsita'. Holding someone's head underwater is 'pozole'. The electric shock batons which are often used on prisoners are openly made in Mexican factories and exported to torturers all over the world. We want our government to stop this disgusting trade. Please help by joining us, or donating. It may not seem like much, but we couldn't exist without the support of people like you. What is Amnesty International but thousands of people just like you who are not prepared to look the other way when people are being tortured? The question each of us must ask is not just 'How can I help?' but 'How can I live with myself if I don't?' Please join us or make a donation today.

## Landlocked Ethiopia puts imperial navy up for sale

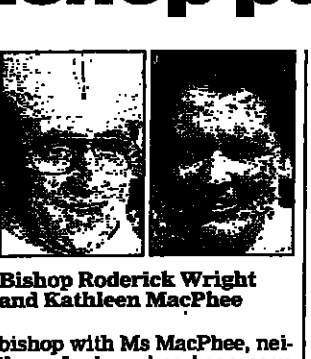
Alice Martin in Djibouti CAPTAIN Tesfaye Gebre Yohanes joined the Ethiopian navy shortly after Emperor Haile Selassie founded it in 1956. Now he is in charge of its auction. With no ports and no coastline to defend since Eritrean independence in 1993, it was perhaps inevitable that the Ethiopian government would put its navy up for sale. "It was one of the best na-

vies in Africa," Capt Tsefaye said. "We were better trained and equipped than anyone, with the exception of Egypt and South Africa." But barely 260 people are left in a force that once had 4,000 officers and men. The deadline for offers was midday yesterday. Sixteen ships, including a mine-sweeper and two missile-launchers, have been docked along a dusty quay in the Red Sea port of Djibouti since they fled the Eritrean coast in 1991, at the

end of the 17-year civil war. The motto of the navy, which destroyed Eritrea's port, Massawa, was: "We will defend the Red Sea with our red blood forever." Ironically, it is the Eritrean government that is tipped to buy the smaller boats in the fleet. Yemen, Djibouti and Nigeria have also shown interest. But so have scrap merchants. With an average age of between five and 24 years, some boats look decidedly worse for wear.

## Flying bishop pursued

Erlend Clouston TWO of Scotland's senior churchmen travel to the Highlands today with a mission to calm nerves frayed by the disappearance of a glamorous bishop and a divorced mother of three. Keith O'Brien, Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, will speak to priests and parishioners at St Columba's cathedral, Oban, where yesterday's mass included prayers for the absent Roderick Wright, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. Archbishop O'Brien, who has responsibility for the scattered diocese, will be joined by the head of the Roman Catholic church in Scotland, Cardinal Thomas Winning, as speculation mounts that 56-year-old Bishop Wright has exchanged his mitre for auxiliary nurse Kathleen MacPhee. The Catholic church is reserving judgment on the rumours linking its youngest



Bishop Roderick Wright and Kathleen MacPhee

Ms MacPhee asked the bishop for counselling after her divorce. Bishop Wright, who has been in his post for six years, has not been heard of since last Monday. His character has been vouched for, however, by his parishioner Frances Shand Kydd, mother of Diana, Princess of Wales. "I know him to be sensitive, compassionate, caring and a tremendously good pastor," said Mrs Shand Kydd. Others point out that he has been put under stress by the death of his sister and by running a diocese that stretches 220 miles down the western Scottish seaboard. Bishop Wright, the son of a Hebridean seaman, is best known for querying the doctrine of priestly celibacy. After the Bishop of Galway's affair with an American divorcee was revealed in 1992, he said: "[Celibacy] is something that is being questioned, but I don't see any conflict in terms of faith if married men were ordained."

The hedgerows will disappear, the spinneys, wetlands, moors, bogs and the beautiful little awkwardnesses of our landscape will simply vanish. Henry Porter

G2 cover story

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Corporation denies decision to shelve report was taken by Birt, while reporters mourn 'end of investigative journalism on Newsnight'

# BBC axes attack on British Airways

Andrew Cuff  
Media Correspondent

**A** SECOND Newsnight report involving allegations against British Airways has been dropped by the BBC to the anger of journalists. The BBC denied yesterday the decision to axe the report on alleged anti-competitive trusts — and another film on "dirty tricks" against Richard Branson's Virgin — had been taken by John Birt, the director general. Mr Birt has reportedly had talks with Sir Tim Bell, head of Lowe Bell public relations, adviser to British Airways

and until recently, the BBC. He is also a friend of Robert Ayling, chief executive of British Airways. They both have holiday cottages in Hay-on-Wye, Powys, and go walking in the Brecon Beacons. A senior BBC journalist said: "This is the end of investigative journalism on Newsnight. It has driven investigative journalism into the sand." Newsnight ran a report by a freelance reporter Martyz Gregory in August 1994 about an alleged dirty tricks campaign by British Airways. Mr Birt faxed a five-point criticism to Tony Hall, chief executive of BBC News, criticising the rigour of its journalism. A half-hour film by Mr Gregory — carrying new alle-

gations from John Gorman, a former police officer who claimed threat and harassment by BA — was then pulled, despite 18 months' work. One journalist said: "The more that was found out the less keen the hierarchy became on it being screened." Simultaneously, Mr Gregory had been preparing another film on alleged anti-competitive practices by the airline, which took on added significance after the merger in June between BA and American Airlines. About £100,000 had been spent on the two reports, and Mr Gregory had interviewed Richard Branson, Sir Freddie Laker, Joe Allen, president of

Delta Airlines, and Sir Michael Bishop, chairman of British Midland. "Yesterday Mr Gregory said: 'I was told in June by Peter Bell [head of daily news programmes] that the "anti-trust" film was dropped. The reason given was that the John Gorman film was to be aired. Now it appears neither are to be screened. It is very difficult to understand what is happening at the BBC.'" Mr Gregory, who won a Royal Television Society award this year for his Channel 4 Dispatches film, The "Torture Trail", said: "It is the most important aviation story of this decade. We have interviewed three witnesses in the United States who give evi-

dence of BA's anti-competitive behaviour in the US." Mr Gregory said all the material for the "anti-trust" film had been shot. "It just needs to go into the cutting room." The Gorman film was passed for transmission by the BBC's internal lawyers after cutting about a third of the material. But advice from an outside lawyer said there was too much risk. In August 1994, after the initial film, Mr Birt had criticised the programme makers. He said it showed "no sophisticated understanding of how institutions work" and he asked: "What level of legal checking did the scripts receive? Did we take counsel's opinion?"

A BBC spokesman said: "Newsnight broadcast a report about BA and John Gorman in 1994. There was some internal discussion about the report as is often the case. Since 1994, Newsnight has received information about developments in the story. However, on the basis of outside legal advice there are no plans at present to transmit a second report." He denied the anti-trust film had been scrapped. "No finished version exists and no decision has been taken about broadcasting it. We refuse suggestions it has been definitively shelved." Senior BBC radio executives are to be turfed out of their offices in Broadcasting

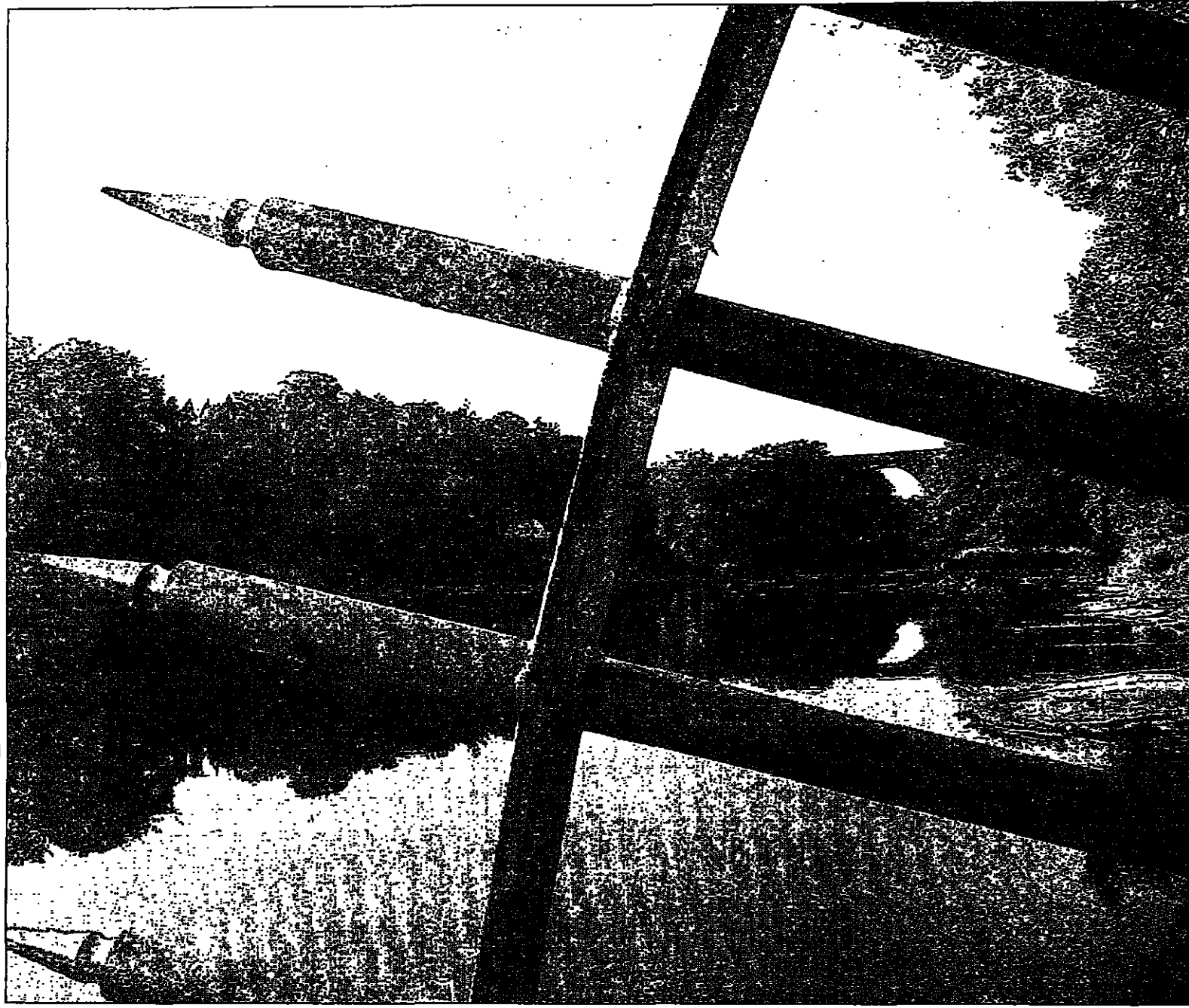
House to make way for a team of managers from television. The move, prompted by Mr Birt's restructuring programme, has reopened fears that radio is to be downgraded. Will Wyatt, the new chief executive of BBC Broadcast and nine of his colleagues from Television Centre, west London, are moving in to a suite of fifth floor offices, previously the home of network radio's most senior managers. Accommodation has yet to be found for the radio hierarchy, including Caroline Millington, controller of production, Radio 4's controller, James Boyle, and his deputy, Helen Wilson. "It's just another indication

of how seriously they're taking radio," a radio insider said. "People here are amazed at the number of people Will is bringing with him." But a BBC spokesman played down the internal musical chairs, saying there would be minimal disruption. Those being displaced would get offices of similar style and convenience elsewhere in Broadcasting House. He added: "It symbolises the importance of radio in the heart of the new broadcast directorate. It carries very positive messages." Opponents of the reorganisation have criticised the merger of radio and television directorates, arguing Mr Birt is not interested in radio.

## Council fights to scrap fence cutting off river

Peter Hetherington

**A** DISPUTE over access to a small section of bank beside one of northern England's premier salmon rivers has pitched a leading Ulster businessman into a bitter legal battle with a Cumbrian parish council. Tension in the villages of Wetheral and Great Corby, on opposite banks of the River Eden near Carlisle, has been rising steadily since Edward Haughey bought Corby Castle, and its surrounding estate, three years ago. While some are unhappy about the noise generated by his helicopter, during regular visits — with fishing rights a further source of anger — the erection of a 1.8 metre high fence along the river bank has brought matters to a head.



The fence blocking access to River Eden, erected by businessman Edward Haughey, which has angered many in Cumbria

an expert in property disputes and brother of Lord Inglewood, a junior minister, has offered his services free to the parish council. While some villagers speak of a climate of fear others have jumped to the defence of the landowner, a member of the Irish Senate who has always given strong support to the Conservatives.

No one disputes that Dr Haughey — who last year was listed as the highest paid executive in Northern Ireland's top 100 companies — has spent a considerable amount of money on Corby Castle, a late Georgian mansion built around a 14th century pele tower. "If it wasn't for him the place wouldn't be here in 10

years," insists one of the estate workers Gabriel O'Hare. "He has restored it to its former glory, spent millions on it. He is one hell of a guy who has created lots of jobs." George Proctor, who has lived in Great Corby for 39 years, claimed only a vocal minority were complaining. "The fence means now to me," he said.

But Peter Armstrong said that when his father went to the riverbank to see the fence he burst into tears. "He just broke down and couldn't take it." A local publican, who declined to be named, said: "We respect the man's right to protect his property, and his right to privacy, but the children for generations have

swam in the river around there. It's just taken everything away at a stroke." The parish council's chairman, Jocelyn Holland, said they did not object to Dr Haughey's right to fence off his estate, but exclusion from the river bank had upset many locals. Dr Haughey could not be contacted last night.

### News in brief

## Man 'killed for kicks' by gang of youths

POLICE investigating the murder of a 46-year-old man who died from five stab wounds after a savage beating said last night it appeared that he had been killed for kicks by a gang of teenagers. Unemployed Irishman Martin McCusker from Lagan, northern Ireland, was found dying near Southend weathervane in the early hours of last Friday. Essex police, who have ruled out robbery as a motive, said they believe the man was first attacked by three youngsters who punched and kicked him and delivered at least 20 blows to his head. Passersby tried to help the man who staggered into Beach Road, where police believe the original gang found him again, attacked him and stabbed him. Detective Superintendent Mike Gamble said: "This was a killing for kicks. The man was absolutely defenceless when the gang returned and stabbed him. The people who carried this out are extremely dangerous." — Alan Watkins

## Scientology ads for TV

TELEVISION advertisements will be screened for the first time this week for the controversial church of Scientology. The 90-second commercial will go on air on Wednesday night on the UK Gold and UK Living channels. The £70,000 ad has been approved by the Broadcasting Clearance Centre. In April, the Independent Television Commission lifted a ban on advertising by the church. The move was criticised by the Cult Information Centre and other monitoring groups. Religious groups are banned from advertising on air if their meetings are not open to the public. The ITC accepted that this was not the case with the Scientologists. The church has been accused of using high powered sales techniques and imposing mental pressure, sometimes leading to breakdowns.

## Call to end farm 'cruelty'

AMANIFESTO calling for an end to what campaigners say are the cruelties of factory farming is being launched today with the backing of more than 30 MPs. Compassion in World Farming's Manifesto for Farm Animals advocates wide-ranging reforms, including ending live animal exports, use of battery hens in the EU, and selective breeding for greater productivity. Labour animal welfare spokesman Elliot Morley and Tory backbencher Sir Richard Body will speak at the manifesto's launch at Westminster. CIWF political director Peter Stevenson said: "Many animals are kept in conditions which should have been outlawed long ago in a society which aspires to be compassionate and civilised."

## Devon blooms conquer Europe

BARNSTAPLE in Devon has been voted one of the three most beautiful towns in Europe because of its flower displays. It has won the Entente Florale gold award for its displays in a competition organised through the European Union. Judges meeting in Hungary said they were impressed by the colour co-ordination. North Devon district council chairman Faye Webber said several jobs were created as a result of the displays, which last year won Barnstaple first place in the Britain in Bloom competition. It was now selling hanging baskets to other towns and cities. The winners of the two other gold awards were the Irish town of Skerries, in County Dublin, and the Belgian town of Malmedy.

## Falling brick injures woman

AWOMAN was taken to hospital yesterday with a suspected fractured skull after a brick fell on her head in a freak accident. She was walking into a car park in Liverpool when the masonry fell and hit her. The street was sealed off by police and structural engineers were called to inspect the building.

## Five share lottery jackpot

FIVE ticketholders will share this week's £9,777,880 National Lottery jackpot, Camelot said. Each winner will receive £1,955,576. Winning numbers were 2, 9, 10, 11, 38 and 48, bonus 1.

## Chattering classes and mobile phone users project an image of Hell for the dedicated cinemagoer

Owen Bowcott

**I**T'S no longer fumbling couples in the back row or the film snoring in the projector. Nowadays it is the bleeping of mobile telephones and chattering which most disturbs filmgoers. The survey of cinema complaints, which includes

moans about late arrivals trying to find their seats, is published as receipts from multi-screen complexes are set to rise to £812 million a year. Compiled for the BBC's Film '96 this evening, the programme's presenter and veteran critic, Barry Norman, comments: "The people I hate most of all are those who chat all the time.

"They have the concentration span of a fruitfly — it drives me nuts. I do not mind the people who buy popcorn because it is designed to be eaten while you are watching a film. "But there are some foods which are completely unsuitable for eating in the cinema. The worst are the ones which mean you have to put up with the smell of

onions or end up with ketchup on your trousers." The largest number of complaints related to chattering during the movie; mobile telephones going off; people arriving late in the seats in front so that crucial parts of the plot are missed; putting feet up on seats; and the noise of slurping drinks and unwrapping sweets.

Meanwhile a Mintel report, also released today, has found nearly one in eight Britons go to the cinema at least once a month. The youngest age groups visit most regularly. More than 50 per cent of adults always choose the film before leaving home, the report says. "Just under a third find cinemas expensive, notably those

with children who may demand food and drink that increases the cost." Industry fears that renting videos reduces cinema-going is rebutted. Those who visit the movies once a month are twice as likely as average to rent videos. And moodier news for cinema chains is that only 5 per cent thought the quality of recent films had been poor.

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مكتبات التحصيل



A Richmond Archaeological Society member digs for remains of a 17th century Thames river crossing made from round wood piles at Kew Bridge, south west London. The search during National Archaeology Day was on a stretch where 100 human skulls have been found. PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN GODWIN

## Norma breaks ranks with John over privacy laws for famous

David Hencke  
Westminster Correspondent

**N**ORMA Major yesterday called for tough privacy laws to protect the rich and famous, apparently without realising her husband, the Prime Minister, has set his face against any change before the election to avoid upsetting the press.

Mrs Major's pronouncements — made in an interview with David Frost on BBC TV yesterday — came after paparazzi using long-distance lenses photographed her, her husband and her family on holiday in the South of France this summer. But John Major, Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, and her predecessor, Stephen Dorrell, have agreed not to introduce laws curbing the press after agreeing that the Press Complaints Commission, the independent



**'Your house and garden should be sacrosanct... or if you're doing something which is obviously private, and I think a holiday obviously is private. I think you're entitled to an element of privacy'**  
— Norma Major

body safeguarding standards, should keep the media's house in order. A commission spokesman said yesterday complaints about undue interference by the media would be "dealt with severely". But ministers have made it clear after the publication of a government white paper that no changes in the law are planned.

The spokesman said no complaint had been received from either John or Norma Major about pictures published in the Sunday Express in August of Mr and Mrs Major and their son, James, with his girlfriend on a yacht. The pictures showed Mr and Mrs Major relaxing while their son engaged in an amorous romp.

Nor has Downing Street used a new provision brought into force allowing a third party to bring a complaint on behalf of the Prime Minister. Without a complaint, no action can be even started. Mrs Major told Frost: "Your house and your garden, that should be sacrosanct... or if you're doing something which is obviously private, and I think a holiday obviously is private. I think you're entitled to an element of privacy." She was asked if she feels sympathy when she sees crowds of people and paparazzi hanging around Liz Hurley's country house or the homes of Oasis members. She said anybody, whether they are "in entertainment or whatever, I think you're entitled to an element of privacy. I don't think the public has a right to know everything and be everywhere." She added: "Well, I think we could certainly make a start with cameras. The fact that they can take a photo-

graph of someone obviously in their house, perhaps through a window, or in their garden which is clearly private property, I think we ought to be able to do something about that. I think it would be a start." Mrs Major also complained about the press highlighting her wearing a blue suit two days running — after Mr Major had evidently decided he did not like her other proposed outfit. "I had two blue suits hanging up in the wardrobe and I'd worn the first one and I was going to wear the second one on the second day. They were both totally different suits and John didn't like the other one, so I wore the same one two days running. So I got hammered on both fronts for wearing the same thing two days running. I mean you know that's terrible isn't it, and of course the suit was perceived to be a disaster as well."

## Author claims unknown writer 'stole' war plot

Lawrence Donegan

**K**EN Follett, Britain's best-selling thriller writer, claimed last night to be the victim of literary "robbery" by an author who shares his publisher. In the latest outbreak of a literary tradition which stretches back decades, Mr Follett has accused an American journalist, Daniel Silva, of lifting the idea from his 1978 thriller, *Eye of the Needle*, for his forthcoming book, *The Unlikely Spy*. Both authors are published by the same company in the US, Random House. "I've been robbed," the British



Ken Follett said the nerve of Silva just blew him away

novel sold 10 million copies worldwide, said he first became aware of Silva's book when the publishers sent him a copy. He read it last week during a promotional tour for German translation of his latest book. "I was utterly amazed. I'm sitting there reading this book by someone called Daniel Silva, thinking I wrote this. This is the first time I have been plagiarised. It is the nerve of the guy that just blows you away," he said. Both novels are about a German spy in wartime London who discovers the secret of the Normandy invasion.

"On its own I would have been taken aback by this but I would not necessarily have felt robbed but as I read through the book I was absolutely amazed by the other things he had taken from my book," Mr Follett said. In both books, the spy — Follett's is male, Silva's is female — is an upper-class German from Prussia. They both kill their victims with stiletto knives and then vomit. The hero in both is a history professor recruited by MI5 at the start of the second world war. "My hero has a sidekick who is a younger man and, lo and behold, bears a striking similarity to the hero's sidekick in

Silva's book," Mr Follett said. Mr Silva, a journalist in Washington for CNN, describes himself as a "tremendous fan" of Follett and said he was very surprised by his complaints. "This book is totally, totally different. It's simple World War Two era fiction. I don't think it's a higher compliment than for him to compare my work to his and I only hope it can do half as well as his books have done." If it does, it will do so without Mr Follett's assistance. "I was asked to give the publishers a quote about the book. I did. I've told them *The Unlikely Spy* is the best book I have ever written."

### Past battles

**DAVID LODGE v PAULINE HARRIS:** Literary professor David Lodge was forced to apologise and pay substantial damages to Pauline Harris, author of "bodice-rippers" after accusing her of plagiarising his novel *Nice Work*. Ms

Harris said Mr Lodge's accusations led her to lose lucrative contracts from Mills and Boon. **BUDGIE THE HELICOPTER v HECTOR THE HELICOPTER:** The publishers of Arthur Baldwin's 1958 children's book *Hector the Helicopter* complained the Duchess of York had plagiarised his work in her 1994 book.

**Budgie the Helicopter.** Both authors said the little helicopter which felt lonely, flew out to sea, rescued some people and returned a hero. Baldwin's publishers declined to take legal action. **PRINCESS MICHAEL OF KENT v DAPHNE BENNETT:** The Princess paid compensation to Daphne Bennett, who

accused her of plagiarising her book about Queen Victoria's eldest child, Vicky. Ms Bennett said the Princess had copied "page after page" of Vicky for her book about royal brides, *Crowned in A Far Country*. **JILLY COOPER v ELAINE DUNDY:** Jilly Cooper admitted "accidental" similarities between Elaine Dundy's 1958 novel *The*

*Dud Avocado* in her own books *Bella and Emily*. Ms Cooper said Dundy's novel was one of her favourite books and she must have mixed it up with notes of her own ideas. Ms Dundy said she was not aware of Ms Cooper's "accident". "I have never read her work. They never sounded like the sort of books I would want to read."

## Union hands conference lifeline to Portillo with £18bn defence cut policy

David Hencke

**T**HE powerful Transport and General Workers' Union — sponsor of Tony

Blair and Gordon Brown — has handed Michael Portillo a lifeline at next month's Tory Party conference by voting for an £18.2 billion-a-year cut in Britain's defence budget.

The Defence Secretary, who is facing a flurry of critical motions from Tory associations furious at cuts in the armed forces, will be able to use the TGWU policy as "proof" of a secret Labour agenda.

The union's policy would leave Britain with a defence budget of £2.2 billion a year and put the jobs of hundreds of thousands of TGWU members at risk unless other work could be found for the factories.

Labour's defence spokesman, David Clark, who has spent this summer talking to American defence companies and the military, is also furious at the union's policy. "All we will be able to purchase with such a policy is a few second-hand Kalashnikovs

## Four teenagers killed as car ploughs into garden wall

Owen Bowcott

**F**OUR young men were killed when their car veered off control at a traffic light junction in Puddletown, Dorset, early yesterday. The victims were all in their late teens. No other vehicle was in-

olved in the crash at around 3.20am. The youths' car ploughed into a garden wall at an accident blackspot. The teenagers' names were not released yesterday but they are understood to be from eastern Dorset. A police spokesman said their car was an "unrecognisable wreck".

from the Bosnian Serbs," he said yesterday. Although he described the decision as nothing to do with Labour, a watered down version of the proposal could emerge at the party's conference next month after some constituency associations backed cuts in the defence budget down to that standard European level of spending. The transport union's general secretary, Bill Morris, is embarrassed by the policy and was also not amused that under conference rules he had to convey details of the resolution to Mr Portillo, who is certain to use it at the Tories gathering in Bournemouth. "It was not the most clever thing to do from a political point of view — but it is stan-

dard union policy to inform ministers of our decisions," a spokesman said yesterday. Detailed plans have been drawn up to convert arms factories for civilian production, the spokesman said. However, the cut was a long-term aim. "We will not want to reduce the defence budget by £18.2 billion overnight. If there is a motion at conference calling for a reduction in spending, however, we are likely to be backing it."

Meanwhile Mr Portillo — who has recently secured a series of orders, from the Eurofighter project to a refurbished Nimrod reconnaissance aircraft — will be hoping to deflect criticism of the cuts by claiming that Labour would squeeze spending even more severely.

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Clinton calms rhetoric as Saddam turns other cheek • Opposition seeks refuge

# Baghdad drops its air shield

**Mark Tran in New York**

IRAQ tried yesterday to forestall further United States military attacks by declaring that it would not rebuild the air defences bombed 10 days ago. For the first time since the crisis erupted, Washington also began to play down the possibility of renewed clashes.

The conciliatory gestures came as the US military build-up ran into problems in Kuwait and Republicans stepped up their criticism of President Clinton's Iraq policy.

Speaking on American television, Iraq's deputy foreign minister, Riyadh al-Qaisi, said Baghdad had stopped rebuilding its air defences. The assurance followed Baghdad's declaration on Friday

that it would no longer fire anti-aircraft missiles at US and allied aircraft enforcing the northern and southern no-fly zones.

Last week the US defence secretary, William Perry, warned there would be a "disproportionate" military response if Iraq continued to fire missiles at the air patrols.

But the White House is said to have been displeased at Mr Perry's aggressive remarks, and such rhetoric was absent yesterday.

Madeline Albright, the American ambassador to the UN, said that Saddam Hussein seemed unlikely to provoke fresh attacks.

"We are not going to be pressed into over-reacting," she said. "It looks as though Saddam Hussein is not going to do anything else."

General John Shalikashvili,

**Iran shells border mountains**

IRAN shelled Kurdish Democratic Party positions on the border yesterday to discourage further attacks on the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, which has Tehran's support.

"We haven't suffered any casualties," a KDP guerrilla commander said.

The KDP now controls virtually the whole of northern Iraq, with the remnants of the PUK holed up in small enclaves or refugee camps abutting the Iranian border.

"If the refugees do not return in three days, we will push the PUK into Iran," the KDP commander Anwar Hacı Osman said.

clashes, the US continued with its military build-up in the Gulf. Eight F-117 Stealth fighters arrived in Kuwait at the weekend and the aircraft carrier Enterprise, with about 75 warplanes, entered the Red Sea yesterday. The carrier Carl Vinson is already on station in the Gulf.

But the US was forced to de-

lay the despatch of a further 5,000 troops to Kuwait.

Kuwait is reportedly miffed at having learnt in the press that another 5,000 American troops were arriving on its soil, adding to the 19,000 military personnel already in the region. But it is expected to agree to the deployment soon.

"I have not authorised that deployment order and will not until I get the authorisation of the Kuwaiti government," Mr Perry said.

He is due to arrive in Turkey today after visits to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain.

Meanwhile Russia has stepped up its criticism of the US military build-up.

"The continuation of bringing troops here and bringing more airplanes is not a good sign, of course," said Vladimir Titorenko, deputy head of the Russian mission in Bag-

dad. He said that Iraq had a right to shoot down planes in the no-fly zones.

"When they have warplanes of another country flying over their air space, they have the right to shoot."

Mr Clinton also found himself under growing criticism at home from the Republicans, who have accused him of failing to explain his objectives, not responding strongly enough to President Saddam, and failing to the hold together the Arab and Western coalition against President Saddam.

While American and Iraqi officials toned down their rhetoric, the Iraqi press showed no such restraint. An editorial in the government newspaper al-Jumhouriya said Mr Clinton was "mentally retarded, immersed in vice and without conscience".

### News in brief

## Netanyahu ready to risk US alliance

THE Israeli prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, said yesterday he will stand firm on his bedrock policies, even at the cost of ties with Washington.

"Regardless of the fact that our relationship with the US is of the first rank of Israel's strategic assets, it is not the supreme asset. The supreme asset is our security, those things that are sacred to us, like Jerusalem," he said.

He said he viewed Israeli opposition to certain Palestinian goals, including the return of Arab refugees to ancestral homes within the present borders of the Jewish state, as also being among his country's "supreme assets".

Meanwhile, the Syrian foreign minister, Farouk al-Shara, turning up Arab heat on Mr Netanyahu's government, said Arab states had agreed to make a link between relations with Israel and progress in talks between the Jewish state and its neighbours. — *Reuter, Jerusalem.*

## Friends mourn rapper Shakur

FRIENDS of Tupac Shakur gathered in Brooklyn yesterday to mourn his death after the American "gangsta" rapper and actor died from wounds suffered in a drive-by shooting in Las Vegas last week.

Shakur's violent death has prompted some sombre reflections on the lifestyle of gangsta rappers, who have a tendency to live out their brutal lyrics.

His short life — he was 25 — was punctuated with violence and brushes with the law. He served time for assault, weapons violations and sexual abuse.

Ironically, he indicated while in prison last year that he wanted to turn over a new leaf. "Thug life is me dead," he told Vibe magazine. "It's real, let somebody else represent it, because I'm tired of it." — *Mark Tran, New York.*

## Afghan air raid kills 12

AFGHAN government jets bombed the rebel Taliban-held eastern city of Jalalabad yesterday, killing at least 12 people and wounding 50, a Pakistan-based Afghan news service said.

A Taliban spokesman said five people had been killed. The three raids sent civilians fleeing in panic, witnesses in the area said. Many are heading for Pakistan.

Afghan military sources in the strategic government-held town of Sarobi said government forces had laid mines on the eastern highway from Jalalabad to the capital, Kabul, to block any Taliban advance.

A government spokesman said an official delegation led by the interior minister, Mohammad Younus Qanuni, had left for Uzbekistan for talks with the opposition northern warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum to persuade him to join forces with the government. — *Reuter, Islamabad.*

## Algerian elections promised

THE Algerian president, Liamine Zeroul, vowed yesterday that general elections would be held early next year as part of a pact aimed at ending the country's crisis and bloodshed.

He offered clemency to "mistaken" Muslim fundamentalists whose anger at being thwarted in similar polls five years ago plunged Algeria into violence.

The promise was made in a speech on state television as he closed a "national conference of understanding". The meeting was boycotted by main opposition parties. — *Reuter, Paris.*

## France shuts down missiles

FRANCE was today deactivating 18 land-based nuclear missiles which for 25 years stood poised for launch in silos beneath the Provence countryside.

Two pairs of officers, in separate bunkers 25 miles apart, will hand back keys and launch codes that would have enabled them to fire the SSd missiles in a direct link with the president, Jacques Chirac.

France's nuclear defences will be assured by nuclear weapons aboard submarines and bombers. President Chirac has also decided to dismantle short-range Hades nuclear missiles as part of restructuring after the cold war. — *Reuter, Paris.*

## Poor energy summit turnout

UNITED Nations officials in Zimbabwe, making final preparations yesterday for a summit on renewable energy, shrugged off suggestions that a poor turnout of world leaders threatened the meeting's success.

Only three presidents attended a preliminary gathering on Saturday of the 17-member World Solar Commission prior to this week's summit in Harare, which is aimed at showing up political support for natural power programmes.

Boris Berikovsky, the engineering and science director of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), said absent members had sent top-level representatives for the two-day summit. — *AP, Harare.*

## Hunted Iraqis flee to Turkey

**David Hirst in Salahuddin**

MORE than 200 members of the United States-backed Iraqi opposition, holed up in a hotel here since their escape from Irbil during the Iraqi invasion, fled at the weekend for the Turkish frontier.

Some appeared to believe they would be met at the frontier by representatives of the Iraqi National Congress (INC), the now devastated pan-Iraqi opposition movement headed by Ahmad Chalabi, which has supposedly arranged for their asylum in the US or elsewhere. Others thought they would get no further than makeshift accommodation in Zakho.

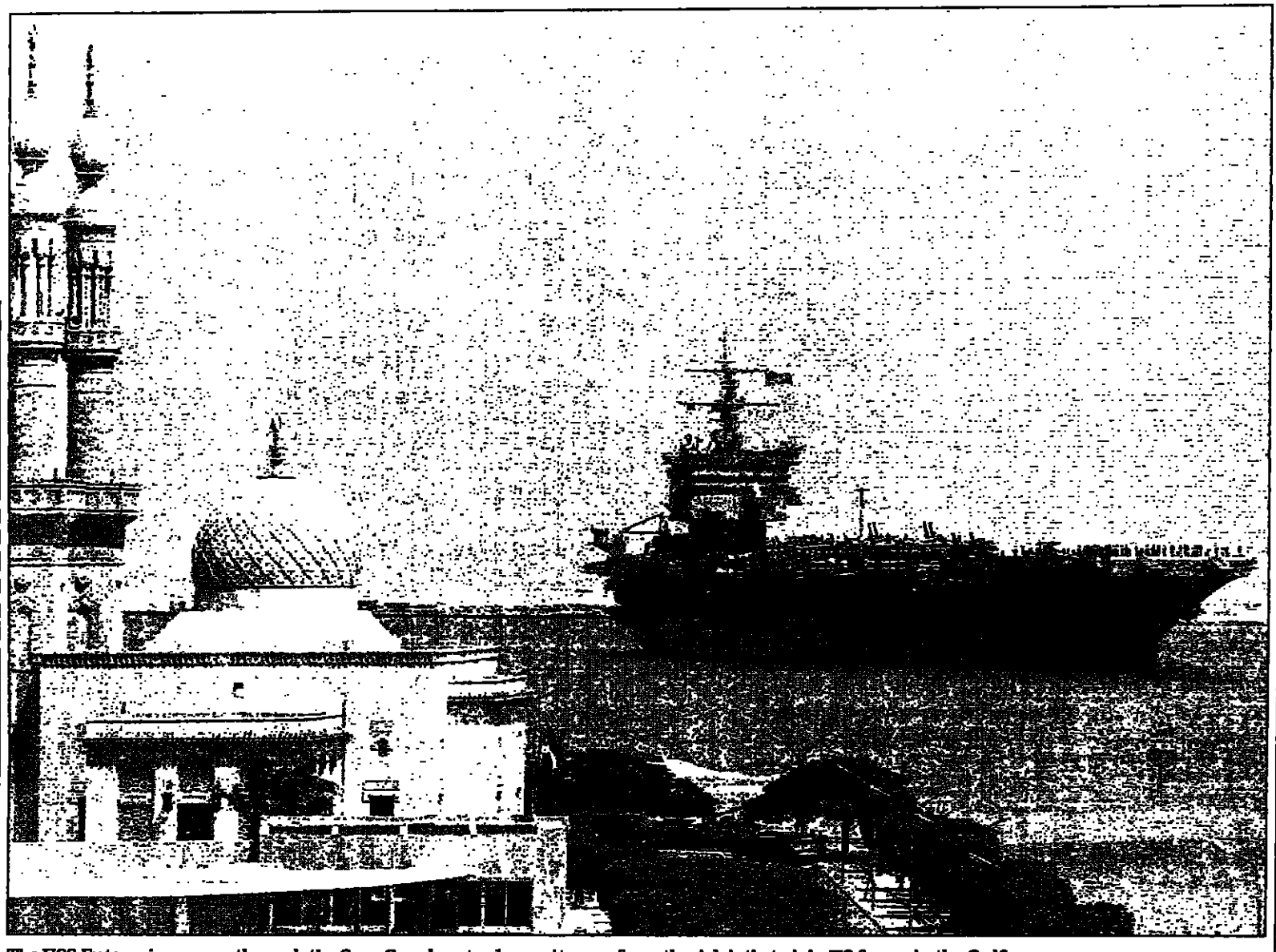
But all 211 agreed that their lives would be in less danger on the Turkish frontier than here in this hill resort a mere half-hour from Irbil.

American officials say the US has only agreed to take in Kurdish employees of Provide Comfort, the Turkey-based air umbrella over north Iraq, and its aid arm, the Office for Disaster Assistance.

"We understand that the offer includes us," a spokesman for the INC group said just before they left. "We thank President Clinton for this."

At least 30 of them left with the weapons, including rocket launchers, which they had kept with them since their escape. "We would have fought against anyone who tried to take them from us," he said.

The men said they did not believe that the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) was able, or even willing, to provide them with the level of protection they needed. Some of them were involved in bungled anti-Saddam opera-



The USS Enterprise passes through the Suez Canal yesterday on its way from the Adriatic to join US forces in the Gulf PHOTOGRAPH BY MOHAMED EL-DAGHANY

tion by the CIA. They claimed the Mukhabarat, President Saddam's secret police, were "roaming around Irbil and Salahuddin".

There is no doubt about President Saddam's desire to get them. A high official wrote in the Baghdad newspaper al-Iraq the other day: "They now face the fate of all traitors: just retribution by the people or abandonment by their masters."

But there is no sign that the Mukhabarat are operating in the Kurdish enclave anything

like as openly as these understandably frightened men seemed to think.

The KDP believes that the INC has been using the fugitives' plight in a propaganda campaign against it. It furnished their convoy with an escort.

Relations between the KDP and many of its former opposition allies have been poisoned by the three days the Mukhabarat did have the run of Irbil.

"Massoud [Barzani] effectively shook hands with Sad-

dam," said one INC fugitive. "I cannot forgive him."

But the KDP expresses disdain for most of them. "They were not ideologically motivated at all," an official said, repeating the now common charge that, thanks to rapid and negligent recruitment, the INC was heavily infiltrated by Baghdad. "I have the names of three officers who saluted when the Mukhabarat came to their doors and led them to the houses of opposition members."

But a leader of the Iraqi

Communist Party, which has preserved good ties with the KDP, said: "The KDP told us it is sorry for what happened, and did not realise it would. I want to believe that. But it should have known that a regime like Saddam's would do the kind of thing it did."

An official of the Turkoman National Party — some 80 of whose members have been carried off to an unknown fate — was harsher.

"The day before the invasion the regime rounded up tailors from our community

in Kirkuk and ordered them to make Kurdish-style clothes. But I spotted KDP men with the Mukhabarat when they came to our offices in this disguise. I could immediately tell the difference from their speech, appearance and behaviour."

*Reuter adds from Zakho:* Hundreds of Kurds clutching suitcases crossed the Turkish border yesterday, beginning the exodus of pro-US Iraqis, witnesses said. It was unclear whether the Salahuddin group was among them.

## Running scared on neutral territory

**As Clinton and Dole abandon the most urgent issues of American life as too tough to handle, the increasing similarities between their platforms reveal a new cowardice and a reduction of their role to mere pageantry, argues Martin Walker**

THE striking absence of ideology in this year's presidential election campaign signifies something more profound than Bill Clinton's tactical skill in occupying the moderate Republican terrain on which Bob Dole has run for more than 30 years.

The campaigning reflects a galloping "de-politicisation" of American life. The determination of Mr Clinton and Mr Dole to run on parallel tracks — tax cuts, reduced government, tougher responses to crime and an end to the New Deal tradition of welfare — reveals an underlying cowardice among the political classes.

The most urgent issues of American life have been increasingly abandoned by politicians as too tough to handle. Bolder people have had to step in.

Prime examples can be found in the judicial system. The Republicans stilled divisive debate on abortion at their convention, but the Supreme Court has re-endorsed the fundamental principle of a woman's right to choose.

Despite last week's tight 50-49 vote in the US Senate against a law that would have outlawed gay discrimination against gays, the principle was upheld by a Supreme Court decision to overturn a Colorado law that would have entitled landlords and employers to discriminate against gays.

By far the most profound public discourse on race this decade took place not only in the Los Angeles courtroom where O. J. Simpson was acquitted of his wife's murder, but among the trial's vast

television audience. The intervention of Louis Farrakhan with his million-man march in Washington was far more powerful than the simultaneous speech by Mr Clinton on the need to maintain affirmative action to help minorities.

On Saturday, at the annual dinner of the congressional black caucus, Mr Clinton awarded the presidential medal of freedom to Rosa Parks, whose refusal 41 years ago to sit at the back of a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama, triggered the civil rights movement. Mr Clinton's gesture illustrated how politicians have been reduced to pageantry.

When the politicians do summon up their courage to tackle big issues, they soon learn better.

It is now apparent that Medicare, which subsidises health care for the elderly, will be bankrupt by the decade's end, and the social security fund from which old-age pensions are paid will be broke by the time Mr Clinton qualifies for his in 2011.

Flushed with their 1994 success in winning control of Congress, the Republicans proposed a modest reform of Medicare. They suffered an extraordinary political defeat as the Democrats spent more

than \$50 million on television advertisements portraying the Republicans as heartless.

On the facts — that the welfare state was heading for disaster under a demographic tide of more old people surviving past the baby-boom generation heading for retirement pensions — the Republicans were right. Politically, they were destroyed.

It now takes a maverick to raise fundamental issues. Only Pat Buchanan for the Republicans and Ross Perot for his third party have questioned the bi-partisan agreement of Mr Clinton and the Republicans on free trade.

His promotion of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference and the Free Trade Association of the Americas is the one big idea of the Clinton presidency. He split his Democratic Party and relied on Republican votes to pass the deals.

However much it may benefit the US economy as a whole, Mr Clinton's embrace of the intense competition of the new global system is forcing down the wages of many American workers, especially the less skilled.

This presidential election and Mr Clinton's near-miraculous recovery are prime examples of the American reduction of politics into posturing.

Mr Clinton's 1992 election manifesto could hardly have been clearer on his conviction that only a post-ideological Democrat could win the White House: "Our policies are neither conservative nor liberal, neither Democratic nor Republican. They are new. They are different."

## India pressed to end child labour

**Suzanne Goldenberg in New Delhi**

AN American human rights group has appealed to India's foreign aid donors and investors, who begin a two-day meeting in Tokyo this week, to put pressure on New Delhi to end child labour.

Human Rights Watch/Asia, in a report released today, accuses the Indian government of condoning child slavery by failing to enforce laws that forbid child labour.

"According to a vast and deeply entrenched set of myths, bonded labour and child labour in India are [seen as] inevitable... They represent the natural order of things and it is not possible to change them by force," the report states.

Estimates of working children vary, but social activists put the figure at 55 million. The government says there are 18 million child workers. Many have been put to work in payment for ancient debts which their parents or grandparents have no hope of repaying.

The report calls on donors to withdraw funding from silk cultivation projects in southern India and other industries where child labour is used.

The India Development Forum meeting is crucial to India's efforts to get funding for its infrastructure. The report calls on consumers overseas to demand proof that

no children were involved in making products from India, especially carpets, silver trinkets and leather goods.

While the focus of Western campaigners against child labour is on goods for export, most working Indian children are on the land. Large numbers work in hazardous brick and match factories, on building sites or in quarries; others roll the thin cigarettes called beedis.

Many children are kept in horrific conditions. Yesterday, Indian newspapers carried reports on the torture of a seven-year-old boy, employed as a domestic worker by a civil servant.

The boy told child labour activists his employers had stuck his hand in the cooker flame and then branded him with iron rods after he drank some milk intended for their children. Girls are at even greater risk.

Recently the Indian government has tempered its hostility towards Western critics of child labour. It launched a programme last year to certify carpets made without child labour.

The former prime minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, announced plans to save 2 million children from servitude by paying their parents in cash and in food to keep them at school.

The shift in Indian attitudes follows vocal protests in Europe — especially Germany — against the use of children in the carpet, textile and clothing industries.



Demonstrators sing patriotic songs in central Hong Kong yesterday to protest against Japanese claims to the Diaoyu islands in the East China Sea PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN FINN

## Heartfelt wishes for Boris

THE United States president, Bill Clinton, wished good health to his Russian counterpart, Boris Yeltsin, who is preparing for heart surgery, in a telephone conversation yesterday, Mr Yeltsin's press office said.

A spokesman said Mr Yeltsin expressed his gratitude for the good wishes and the readiness of US surgeons to take part in pre-operation consultations. — *Reuter, Moscow.*

## Woman astronaut 'is a star'

RUSSIAN space officials say they have only the highest praise and affection for NASA's uncompromising astronaut Shannon Lucid, who has spent the past six months aboard their orbiting station Mir — six weeks longer than planned.

Her assignment is about to end. The space shuttle Atlantis is due to blast off today to retrieve her and take her replacement, Jolanta Blazna.

Valery Ryumin, a Russian space manager, said Ms Lucid, aged 55, had reacted with the good humour of Russian cosmonauts when told her stay was being extended. — *AP, Cape Canaveral.*

**Princess Stephanie, always attracted to low-life men, should never have fallen for Ducruet in the first place.**  
Alex Duval-Smith on the House of Grimaldi

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The Guardian  
News in brief  
Netanyahu ready  
risk US alliance

# Monitors berate Muslims for rejecting Serb polls West quick to hail peaceful election

**WESTERN** governments and Nato commanders yesterday welcomed the peaceful conduct of Saturday's elections in Bosnia, but even as vote-counting got underway, controversy broke out over the fairness of the poll and the validity of the results.

The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), responsible for supervising the elections — criticised the ruling Muslim party, the SDA, for its polling-day announcement that it would reject results from Serb-held areas.

Agota Kuperman, an OSCE spokeswoman, said the elections "were almost entirely free of abuse. The international observers, according to our preliminary reports, have been well satisfied with the arrangements they observed."

An official assessment of the conduct of Saturday's vote is expected today from the OSCE's chief monitor, Ed van Thijn.

Mr van Thijn will give a comprehensive judgment on the overall election after all the votes have been counted.

If the election is certified free and fair, it will help pave the way for the departure of the Nato-led peace implementation force (I-For) and give the signal for the final lifting of economic sanctions on Yugoslavia.

Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Walker, the commander of land forces for I-For, lauded the generally peaceful conduct of the poll and said his 33,000 troops had "opened the door" for democracy.

Richard Holbrooke, the US diplomat who brokered last year's Dayton peace accord, announced that the US would lead a post-election diplomatic effort to maintain the path to peace, including a meeting in Paris this month between President Alija Izetbegovic and Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic.

Mr Holbrooke initially declared the voter turnout in Sunday's vote to have been 70 per cent, but OSCE officials later admitted the estimate was based only on anecdotal evidence.

Bosnian, European and other observers warned against a rush to judgment on the conduct of the elections.

A United Nations official based in Sarajevo said: "I'm shocked by this backslapping going on. They're telling the journalists: 'We've got bad news — they've been dull elections.' People keep forgetting that police states always have dull elections."

It was already clear yesterday that more than 130,000 Muslim voters had forfeited their right to vote rather than cross the ethnic boundary line.

Major Simon Haselock, an I-For spokesman, said that only 20,000 mainly-Muslim voters had crossed the line to vote in their pre-war districts in Serb areas — about 13 per cent of the estimated number eligible.

The SDA (Party for Democratic Action) insisted it was serious about its threat to reject the Serb results. Ismet Grbo, a party spokesman, said the Bosnian Serbs were claiming more registered voters than the total number of Serbs living in the country before the war, and pointed out there had not been enough OSCE monitors to cover all 4,600 polling stations.

Jovan Zarnic, a political adviser to the Bosnian Serb leadership, said the SDA had no right to judge results on Serb-held territory.

"It is not the Muslims who are the judges and planners of these elections and thank God for that," Mr Zarnic said. "We have the international community here. We have the OSCE and they will be the judges of these elections."



Coal workers have long been a power in Romania but their future under capitalism looks as bleak as their surroundings PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL O'DRISCOLL

# King coal pulls the props on Iliescu

**THE** Romanian miners' contribution to their country's recent history is infamous: they were the private army of thugs summoned from this blackened mining valley to the capital Bucharest in the summer of 1990 by President Ion Iliescu.

With sticks and chains they cracked the skulls of students demonstrating for real democratic change, and thereby buried the last hopeful illusions which the heady uprising of the previous Christmas inspired.

On November 3 Romania returns to the polls which have twice given power to President Iliescu — a former acolyte of the communist tyrant Ceausescu. He is standing for a third term, in defiance of the constitution, and likely to get it.

But this time he is not endorsed by the man who led the thugs to Bucharest, who rules an extraordinary state within a state, the king of the Romanian coalminers, Miron Cozma.

The bombastic Mr Cozma is standing for the senate as an independent, saying he owes nothing to the man he once served, setting out, he says, to represent the coalfield.

In the Jul Valley a string of colliery towns nestle beneath some of Transylvania's most savage and beautiful mountains. At the headquarters of Mr Cozma's Miners Union his deputy, Victor Bordea, says he is much too busy to talk, and would you please not bang around the entrance; even better, go away.

Suddenly a smart Renault Laguna sweeps into the front yard, disgorging Mr Cozma himself. He speeds up the steps to a flurry of adulation while a team of iron-built braves scurry behind with his briefcases.

Once his secretary has secured us an audience there is no end to the generosity.

The miners' king showers us with gifts: copies of his book on St Varvara, patron saint of coalminers — and a cassette by a heavy-metal rock band, commissioned by the union and bearing his name on the sleeve.

It takes a while to get round to the baton and chains of Bucharest. And Mr Cozma conventionally confuses two of the many journeys the miners made to register their point in the capital: the notorious repression of the democratic revolt and the time 14 months later when they deposited their prime minister, Petre Roman.

"We have 17 mines here," says Mr Cozma; "but under Petre Roman's plan for Romanian coal there would have been only four left. We went



Miron Cozma (above) sent his miners to Bucharest (right) to crush democracy rallies and get rid of a prime minister. Now he wants to represent them in the senate

**Ed Vuillamy goes down the Vulcan pit to assess the strength of Miron Cozma, who put his miners' muscle at the service of the Romanian president but is now posing a political challenge**

to Bucharest in order to defend our jobs and get rid of him, that is all."

And the crushing of the students? "I regret this very much. We were manipulated by those in power."

The director of the Vulcan mine, Ilie Martin, is a little less cautious. "In Britain, Margaret Thatcher broke the mining unions. In Romania it was the other way round — we broke Petre Roman."

And the other time, with the students? "Well, it was the second revolution. We didn't accept the ideas that were coming to play, we were afraid of foreign intervention. People were coming against our forces, and we had to intervene with force. It was like a working class police."

Mr Cozma is hardly bashful about his union's muscle. My union is more powerful than any party in Romania. I got more money in levies than the ruling party. I am the biggest trade union in the country." But they are no longer Iliescu's rent-a-mob.

Mr Cozma lambasts Romania's "financial blockage" and the government's want of hard cash to pay for coal. He is furious that the mines are bound by law to sell their heavily subsidised output to the state.

"No coal is exported," he says. "I would show that I can do without the subsidy and sell abroad, on the world market." One can be forgiven for being confused about who represents the miners and who owns the mines. The truth is that Mr Cozma directs the coal board directors. But even this is no protection against unemployment. "We have succeeded in securing the job of every miner," Mr Cozma boasts, "but we cannot assure work for the miners' children."

The directors are even more pessimistic. Mr Martin says that closure could come "any time now" if Romanian coal was exposed to the world market. Exporting is a pipe-dream. "The quality is not good enough."

**WHEREVER** General Lebed goes, four of the fastest guns from his old military command in Trans-Dniestr go with him. Not even the secretary of Russia's security council trusts state-run bodyguards to protect him.

At the other end of the criminal justice system, an old courthouse in central Moscow is besieged by queues of supplicants. Groups of them stand behind closed doors in unlit corridors, holding their statements, waiting for a chink of light to appear. The bureaucracy is arthritic. Here there is law but no order.

The only thing that physically stands between a district judge and the criminals that Gen Lebed has promised to clear off the streets is a pile of well-thumbed papers, and a judgment written out in long-hand the night before. Justice is dispensed in a chamber which looks like a doctor's waiting room.

When the accused has been led away, the judge is left to face angry relatives at close quarters. The same court hears the cases of petty offenders and murderers.

The state has lost so much authority since the days when a phone call from a party's office could bring the outcome of a trial, that judges are often threatened in the courtroom, or in late night calls to their homes. One was reading out a judgment when a Molotov cocktail exploded, narrowly missing him.

In a dining room such as this, Judge Olga Lavrentyeva, aged 28, fined a man about \$3.50 for illegal street trading. It was the minimum fine and the law allowed her no further discretion.

But Valery Ivanov, aged 41, was outraged. He was disabled and could not run away as the others had done when the militia arrived. His stock of children's clothes was confiscated.

And why should he have been done, when the real sharks of illegal trade swarmed around in expensive foreign cars? That night he went out and bought a knife. The next morning he stabbed the young judge. Everyone at the Ostankinski inter-municipal court saw her as she was taken out to the ambulance. She died in hospital.

Vladimir Prokoviev, the head of the court, said: "My colleagues are in shock. We all got used to being threatened, but now everyone realises the danger we are in. In a normal state, the law protects each citizen. Here they come

# Justice proves rough for Moscow's judges

**DAVID HEARST** finds law but no order in the Russian capital's crowded courts

**AROUND** 100 high-ranking Russian military officers, including 14 generals, are facing corruption or embezzlement charges, Interfax news agency reported yesterday.

The chief military prosecutor's office said the generals and more than 80 colonels are under investigation. Several have already been convicted.

Among those guilty of corruption are the former director of the Lomonosov air college and the former head of the armed forces technical inspectorate.

Corruption has become endemic in the demoralised, armed forces, which have suffered deep cuts in budgets and prestige since the end of the cold war. — AP.

to defend their rights with knives."

In a normal state... That phrase is often heard these days. It means anywhere but Russia, a country where everything seems to have been turned on its head, where the criminals are the fat cats, and the judges travel by metro.

A workman started hammering on the tin roof above Mr Prokoviev's office. It was the same old story, he said. They start repairing the leaking roof in the autumn when it rains, and the roads in winter, when it is snowing.

"What authority can our court have among that lot outside when the ministry of justice can't even afford to pay the heating bill in winter, the telephone bill, the electricity bill. It's only thanks to the city mayor that we have not been cut off," Mr Prokoviev fumed.

He looks down at the latest presidential decree on providing the "social defence" of judges.

"It's a good decree. It's all there. There's just no money to carry it out. Even Ivan the Terrible made sure he had the money first before signing a decree."

There are few volunteers for the job of judge. In Moscow, 95 of the 450 posts are vacant, and Yuri Archipov, the deputy head of the justice directorate, says they need 330 to handle a backlog of criminal cases — 27,000 in the first six months of this year.

For a salary of around £160 a month, it is hardly surprising there are few takers. Meanwhile witnesses don't come to court because there is no staff to tell them to and prisoners on remand don't come to trial because the police car has run out of petrol or broken down.

"We wait here for hours, days even, for these people to arrive. Justice on the cheap has its consequences," said Mr Prokoviev.

# Simitis panicked into electoral action

**HELENA SMITH** in Athens

**THE** Greek prime minister, Costas Simitis, took his message of reform to the countryside yesterday as a sluggish general election campaign showed signs of gathering pace in the final week before voting.

Mr Simitis's Panhellenic socialist movement (Pasok) has suddenly found it has a fight on its hands as opinion polls put it 1 per cent ahead of the conservative New Democrats.

The populist platform of his main rival, Kostas Karamanlis, is gaining support. The conservatives have closed the gap by using American image makers to stage a sophisticated electoral campaign.

Analysts believe the ballot will be a tight race between the two parties, possibly with the increasingly popular small parties holding the balance of power.

"The polls have caught us all by surprise," said a senior adviser to a Pasok cabinet minister. "There is an atmosphere of panic in Pasok. No one had expected this."

Mr Simitis, aged 60, a former university professor, called the election a year early as he rode a wave of popularity that many observers believed would make him difficult to beat.

In the eight months since he replaced the late Andreas

Papandreou as prime minister and leader of Pasok, Mr Simitis has tried to modernise Greek political life and would give him a mandate to carry on the reforms.

Greece has struggled for decades to recover from the period of authoritarian right-wing rule under the colonels' regime which collapsed in 1974.

But although Mr Simitis has been embraced by the Athens intellectual elite and has won over a large segment of the right, his moderate policies and professional air have not fared so well with Pasok's rank and file.

Into their 11th year of economic austerity, many

Greeks have grown weary of the sacrifices Mr Simitis insists they must make if Greece — the European Union's poorest member — is to keep pace with its partners.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the countryside where people have begun to hanker for the populist rhetoric that swept the socialists to power in 1981.

Although Mr Simitis, a former Athens mayor, enjoys neither the respect nor popularity of Mr Simitis, his emotive style and demagoguery have increasingly struck a chord.

Last week, polls revealed that the New Democrats and Dikiki, a socialist splinter group, have chiselled away at Pasok's traditional popularity among farmers and low income groups with promises of tax relief and aid subsidies.

"It's always easier for parties which are out of power to outbid the incumbent in promising things — and that is exactly what the opposition is doing," said Nikiforos Diamantouros, a professor of political science at Athens University.

"Populism is the sorriest legacy of the 1967-74 military regime and previously Pasok always excelled in it."

There are few who doubt that Sunday's election will be decisive for Mr Simitis, who has threatened to resign from the leadership of Pasok if defeated.

**ALEX DUVAL SMITH** in Paris

**DESPITE** persistent drummers that he is unfit to travel, the Pope looks set to go ahead with a four-day visit to France this week which has divided clerics and brought to the fore widespread hostility to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

A survey published at the weekend found that only 53 per cent of those polled had a "good opinion" of the Pope — down from 79 per cent in 1986. Twenty-six per cent of people had a bad opinion of the Pope up from just 6 per cent 10 years ago.

The Figaro magazine survey came as protest groups ranging from feminists to ecologists confirmed plans for demonstrations during the Pope's visit.

The Church in France — which last year defied papal teachings and recommended the use of condoms to fight Aids — is known to be divided over the visit.

In an attempt at a conciliatory move, the Archbishop of Tours has arranged for the Pope to meet representatives of homeless, handicapped and unemployed people, gays and lesbians. However, the

meeting is to be staged under the banner "The Injured of Life", which has offended many.

Security is expected to be a prime concern. Three weeks ago, a crude bomb was found in a church in Vendée which the Pope will visit. Two weekends ago, a Belgian anarchist group smeared churchgoers in Nantes with cream cakes.

Speculation about the health of the Pope, aged 76, was only dampened slightly at the weekend when his doctors said he would have an operation before the end of the year to remove a recurrently inflamed appendix.

Last week, during a visit to Hungary, the Pope cut short a speech, allegedly because he was exhausted by efforts to speak Hungarian. Observers have also noted a tremor in the Pope's hands — an affliction described by the Vatican as "extra-pyramidal" and related to the nervous system.

Friends mourn rapper

Afghan air raid kills 12

German elections promise

France shuts down missile

Energy summit turns

felt wishes for Boris

an astronaut is a star

Princess Stephanie, she attracted to low-life male Ducruet in the first place



## Socialism in our time

So what's all the fuss about?

THE REACTION to yesterday's Sunday Times article by Kim Howells is absurdly disproportionate. In the first place, an article by Mr Howells does not constitute Labour Party policy any more than an article by, say, Roy Hattersley does. Mr Howells is a junior frontbencher with a restless mind and some interesting things to say, partly because of the fact that he broke with the old left in the 1980s. But he is not especially close to Tony Blair. He is not a key figure. He is not being used to fly a kite which Mr Blair is secretly constructing. There is no secret agenda. He is simply doing his own thing.

Second, before denouncing Mr Howells's article, people might take the trouble to read it. It is not a long article. It is not complicated. It is obviously written in the heat of the moment, as many of the most heart-felt articles are. And it only makes one essential point, that an incoming Labour government should be more committed to governing well than to governing in a way which can be considered socialist.

Intellectually, that is not a very impressive point. The idea of governing well is a pretty vague one, though there is nothing inherently wrong with it. So too is the phrase much favoured by Mr Howells in his article — "contemporary solutions to contemporary problems". In both cases, as in the endless discussions about whether something is socialist, it all depends on what you mean. You can govern well in the interests of the few or the many. A contemporary solution can be a good contemporary solution or a bad one.

Yet there ought to be no honest dispute that socialism, as presently understood, is an insufficient contemporary compass for Labour. Those who throw up their hands in horror at the very thought that someone could say such things should be asked a question: where have you been for the last decade? The definition of socialism was not handed down by Keir Hardie on tablets of stone. Socialism is a system of ideas which has changed, rightly, because times and problems have changed too. For anyone at the end of a century marked by so much catastrophic socialist experiment to pretend that there is a clear, easy or even a true contemporary socialist solution to contemporary problems is to sanction a lie and even perhaps a crime.

That does not mean that socialism as a system of ideas is irrelevant (it is not) or that it is being written out of the Blair script (as a matter of fact, Mr Blair tends to use the word rather more often and more hopefully than some earlier Labour leaders). But it does mean that Mr Howells, for all the limitations of his contribution, is taking part in the real world. For Labour people to pretend to be outraged by what he says indicates more about them than him. As in the Byers and Blunkett cases last week, too many are behaving at the moment like old-fashioned parents shocked by the very idea that their children might have a life of their own.

## Caring for our own

Rowntree's solution

NAME THE biggest change to the Health Service in the last decade. No, not the new market. Something more fundamental: the withdrawal of free NHS beds to long-term dependent patients. No one announced this major policy switch. There was no debate. Yet in the last 15 years thousands of patients have been transferred from free NHS beds into means-tested nursing homes. A survey by the Guardian three years ago found 40 per cent of long-stay beds for elderly people had been shut within the previous five years. There have been more since then. In the words of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's inquiry into continuing care which reports today, this shift of cost from the NHS to individuals has broken "an implicit contract between the citizen and the state". Of course social security has helped pick up some of the tab. Almost 300,000 were getting some social security subsidy in 1993. But as the howls from middle income people demonstrate, many thousands are now having to pay for what used to be free nursing care. The cost can be catastrophic. Up to £20,000 a year. Typically, an elderly person spends three years in a home before they die. A lifetime's savings can be quickly eliminated. As many as 40,000 homes a year are having to be sold to meet the costs.

What should be done? The Government produced a paper last May to persuade people to take out private insurance based on an American model which is not even working well in the US. It has rightly been rejected by the Tory-controlled Commons select committee on health. Labour says it will set up a royal commission but Rowntree makes that unnecessary.

The new report goes where political parties fear to tread. If neither major party is ready to impose the taxation there is only one alternative: compulsory national insurance. Working people would pay 1.5 per cent of their earnings (within set bounds) to a new national scheme. This would end means-tested charges for health and social care — whether delivered to their own home or within a residential setting. The only means-tested charges would be for "hotel costs" in homes, meals, cleaning, accommodation — and even these could be covered over time by the new insurance scheme. A National Care Council would regulate the new system setting standards for care services and the level of contributions. A person on average earnings could expect to pay £250 a year. Additional voluntary contributions could be paid to fund better "hotel" accommodation. The new fund would be protected from ministerial raids by being managed by private investment institutions.

The proposals only relate to elderly people and do not address the long-term nursing needs of young patients which have been highlighted by the ombudsman. This could create an anomalous system under which the under-65s would have to pay for services the over-65s receive free. There would clearly be battles over where health care (funded by the NHS) ends and social care (funded by the new scheme) begins. But the benefits to the community are uncontested. All people would be assured in their old age of long-term nursing care with some choice over how it was delivered. Only one in five people ends up needing long-term nursing care but health care is too important to be left to chance. Despite yesterday's — ludicrously speedy — rejection by the Government, Rowntree's insurance proposals are in line with the founding principles of the NHS. Something along these lines will eventually have to be introduced.

## New Labour — New Physics



## Letters to the Editor

### Poverty in the twilight years

IN your leader (A lifetime for pensioners, September 13) you rightly regretted the unwillingness of the Labour party to restore the link between pensions and earnings, pointing out how many billions pensioners have lost since 1980. The consequences of breaking this link have also deprived the national insurance "fund" of millions to be used as the upper earnings limit beyond which NI contributions are no longer levied in direct proportion to earnings has also fallen. This is rarely acknowledged. The upper limit is determined as a multiple of the value of the basic state pension and in 1979 was equivalent to one and a half times male average earnings. By the year 2000 it will have fallen below average male earnings. This means those with above average earnings are contributing less and less to the state schemes. This, together with the withdrawal of the state contributions to the fund from general tax-

ation, means the cost of state pensions is falling more on the lower paid, the majority of whom are women. Conversely, five out of six of those earning above the limit are men who can afford to make bigger contributions — on which they receive tax relief — to their private pensions.

The inadequacy of state pensions is of immediate concern for those already retired and their needs and entitlements must be urgently addressed. However the question of pensions concern all of us. Young people, especially young women, should be taking the matter very seriously. One of the many virtues of Barbara Castle's scheme in the 1975 Act is that it values contributions to society both in the form of caring within the family and paid work in the labour market. The private sector cannot do this, so the state by redistributing resources from the well-paid and wealthy must do this on behalf of all of us. Restoring

the value of the basic state pension and SERPS would be a good start.  
Hillary Land,  
Professor of Family Policy and Child Welfare,  
University of Bristol,  
8 Woodland Road,  
Bristol BS8 1TN.

THE Minimum Pension Guarantee is merely a device to replace Income Support for the elderly. A moment's thought demolishes the suggestion that this could be introduced without some form of means test. How else can the pensioners who need it be determined?  
The pension has to be universal, linked again to average earnings leaving income tax to adjust incomes in the same way as for the rest of the population. The Minimum Pension Guarantee has been rejected by the Pensioners' movement, by Chris Smith and the Labour leadership. It is now to be taken out of the Commission for Social Justice's cupboard by Harriet Harman in order to "target" resources?  
Joe Harris,  
Chair, Islington Pensioners' Forum,  
51a Tollington Way,  
London N7 8RE.

ALTHOUGH the link with earnings may have been beneficial for pensioners in the past, it is dangerous to assume that this will be the case in the future. Increases in earnings fell behind the RPI in 1995. An increase in income for the single older pensioners could be achieved by abandoning the married couples allowance and adding the amount to the single basic pension. Couples would be no worse off — indeed would have extra given the possibility of the wife gaining a pension based on her own contributions.  
Donald W Steele,  
Director, Association of Retired and Persons Over 60,  
Greencoat House,  
Francis Street,  
London SW1P 1DZ.

### Better to be Tony's sycophant than a Labour sneak

THERE are useful, indeed salutary, lessons to be learned over the future surrounding Stephen Byers and Kim Howells. Thirty-three weeks from today the general election will be over. The result will be binding. There will be no replay. Therefore, everybody in the Labour Party, especially frontbenchers, should only say or do what is carefully calculated to ensure a Labour victory.

All newspapers and broadcasting organisations want stories. Loyalty and unity are not stories. Anything that can be presented as disloyalty, disunity, moral or divisive is a story. Therefore anything that is interpreted in such a way should not be said or done.

Being an opposition frontbencher, as I know from my own experience over far too many years, is a dog's body job. No Labour frontbencher should be under the illusion that a private meal with journalists is private. This is not because the journalists are dishonourable or will betray a confidence; in fact, political journalists operate and abide by stringent rules of confiden-

ce. However, even if the occasion takes place under an oath of secrecy, what was said at it will get out, in accurate or garbled form. That is the way of the world. Therefore, even on such a private occasion no Labour frontbencher should say anything that he or she would not say in the presence of Tony Blair. Sycophancy is infinitely preferable to discretion.

Millions of people long for a Labour government to deal with the repulsive extension of inequality, poverty, deprivation and unemployment which has taken place during the past 17 years. We must make sure that next year is the last of such years. We must all sink our egos, ambitions and personalities in order to achieve the simple objective of Labour victory. Let Tony Blair, in his speech tonight about the challenges facing a Labour government, speak for us all. My constituents want a Labour government. They want unity and discipline and that is what we owe them.  
Gerald Kaufman MP,  
House of Commons,  
London SW1A 0AA.

### Golden-edged death certificates

MOST of the Holocaust victims who brought their valuables into Switzerland may have appointed a lawyer or fiduciary who in turn opened a deposit with a Swiss bank using his own (the lawyer's) name. These deposits may have continued unchanged.

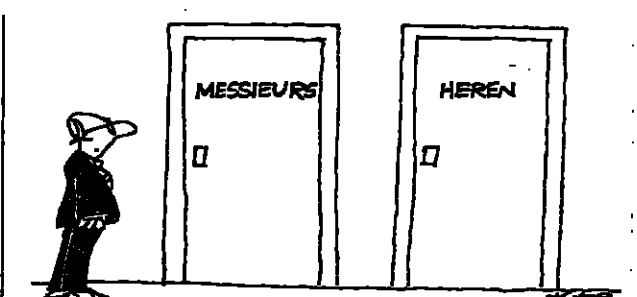
On December 20, 1995 the government of the Canton of Zurich, Switzerland, officially stated that it is not illegal or unethical if lawyers, fiduciaries and physicians inherit the estate of their clients. This statement referred to the Swiss physician Dr K, who was the designated beneficiary of his patient who died in his care of untreated pneumonia on February 9, 1990, in Zurich.

The issue will be discussed by the Zurich parliament later this year. It is evident that a physician or lawyer has a conflict of interest if he can expect a profit provided that his client dies.

ASA Holocaust survivor of Hungarian origin I find it shocking that "prospective

recipients" of Nazi gold now held in the Bank of England "could include Belgium, Holland and Hungary" — gold hangs on to looted gold, September 12. During the second world war Hungary was an active collaborator in the Holocaust. Sharing Nazi loot with Hungary would be adding insult to the injuries suffered by the victims of German Nazism and Hungarian Fascism.  
Dr Ladislaus Loeb,  
School of European Studies,  
University of Sussex,  
Falmer,  
Brighton BN1 9QN.

I HAVE been following with keen interest the stories about the Nazi Gold hidden in Swiss Banks.  
But what about the cost of looting undertaken by the West against Africa over centuries? What about asking the Bank of England to reveal the total amount of Commonwealth assets being kept in their custody. Or how much rulers like Mobutu of Zaïre, Eyadéma of Togo and the rest of them are keeping in the same Swiss banks?  
L G K Octoo,  
Melbourne Grove,  
London SE22.



### Different tongues speak of Belgium's north south divide

FURTHER to your report on the Flemings and the Walloons (Belgium's wealthy north shuns south as economic tables turn, September 10), the linguistic divisions of Belgium society extend even to the heart of their own state broadcasting company.

Visiting the Brussels equivalent of Broadcasting House this summer, I found it had separate entrances for the French and Dutch speaking sections. Worse, the physical division persists inside the building, where there are separate studios and even canteens so the two never meet!

The personnel themselves were charming and thought

the situation ludicrous and worrying but nobody knew how to change it, or resist the growing divisions in the society outside.  
Richard James,  
24 East Downs Road,  
Bowden,  
Aldershot,  
Cheshire WA14 2LQ.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed or sent by post and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk. Please include a full postal address and daytime telephone number, even in e-mailed letters. We regret we cannot acknowledge receipt of letters. We may edit them: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

## Laugh? He almost lost his head

### Endpiece

#### Roy Hattersley

B RISTOL to Birmingham last week, Peterborough to Pudsley this, and so many appearances on local radio that my ears still bear the marks of the headphones. It is great to be back on the campaign trail, even though I was selling books rather than chasing votes and despite being introduced in Bristol as highly respected". Denis Healey warned me about the consequences of that description long ago. The natural progression for retired and retiring politicians was, he warned me, "highly respected" to "much loved" and "much loved" to dead. It seems hardly credible that it is 20 years since I first laughed at the thought of degenerating into respectability.

Amongst the bookshop audiences and the literary lunch guests there were always a few cynics who found it hard to believe that politicians ever laugh at all — really laugh as distinct from coun-

terfeiting amusement at the end of a joke which was intended to prove how human they are. And there were one or two who clearly disapproved of the solemn business of government and opposition being interrupted by moments of either farce or frivolity. But these days, I rate conspicuous enjoyment more highly than either dignity or decorum. A sense of humour goes with a sense of perspective, as well as demonstrating self confidence. So the best politicians have the grace to be amused by the essential absurdity of their trade. At Midlothian in 1870, William Ewart Gladstone had merely to be eloquent, noble and prophetic. At Greenwich just over 100 years later, Denis Healey and I were required to be ridiculous. Suppressed hysteria was the only decent response.

The Greenwich byelection was held at the very nadir of Labour's fortunes. And the local party had chosen a candidate who, for all her indomitable spirit, was not likely to turn the tide. She was treated particularly badly by the tabloid press who found her guilty by association with her husband — a trade union

activist who had been particularly vocal during the Winter of Discontent. Labour's public relations machine was going through its flower period (a joke in itself) and some bright spark had the idea of opening the final press conference with the presentation of a sympathetic rose bouquet. Glenda Jackson, being a good trooper, agreed to do the honours. But also being a woman of judgment, she announced — in a double Oscar winner's stage whisper — that she regarded the whole idea as "naïf". Healey and I pretended not to hear.

After reading two statements — his on foreign affairs and mine on economic policy — which we knew the newspapers would not report, we boarded the campaign bus for a tour of the constituency. We were not alone. With us, on the open top, was the inspector from the television programme On The Buses, resident in London Transport uniform. Healey and I shouted through our loudspeakers about European unity and industrial investment. He shouted "Any more fares please?" and "Pull up inside!" and was the centre of attention until, as we passed

along a tree-lined road, Denis failed to duck under one of the branches that overhung the carriage. The resulting cut created the impression that someone had attempted to saw off the top of his head. But, although the blood began to trickle down his brow, he refused all first aid.

Fortunately, it had coagulated by the time we drew up at a row of shops. For Denis — noticing that a ladies' hair-

### Denis stormed through the salon door and asked if he qualified for a cheap eyebrow trim

dressers was advertising a pensioner's concession — stormed through the door and asked if being over 60 he qualified for a cheap eyebrow trim. Much to her credit, the proprietor looked at the tufts of blood-caked hair without flinching and said that she feared her limited skills would not do justice to a

national institution. Denis then asked the opinion of a number of customers, thrusting his head under the driers in order to make their closer acquaintance. Most screamed, but only one attempted to escape. She stood — tiny and completely dressed in black — by the door where I hovered in the hope that nobody would notice me.

Denis did. He was about to introduce me as shadow chancellor when he realised that the lady who stood by my side was showing signs of anxiety. "You don't look very happy, love," he called out to her across the crowded salon. "I'm not," she confessed in a remarkably self confident voice. Compassion turned to incredulity. "Don't tell me you're a Conservative." She admitted it. And when asked to justify her strangely deviant behaviour, she fearlessly replied, "Because I have a few pounds in the bank." Denis grinned fiendishly under his matted eyebrows and waved in my direction. "Meet Roy Hattersley. He is the man who is going to take it all off you after the general election."

We lost in Greenwich and

went on to lose the next couple of by elections. I guess that Denis and I grieved over our defeats as much as any other party member — pro bono publico more than because of our own frustrated ambitions. For, even in the most desperate moments — some of which, in retrospect, seem to have lasted a very long time — there was always a funny side at least to our personal predicaments. And failure to laugh would only have provided more proof that politicians consider themselves so grand that they have no time to remember the problems which are facing other people. We do ourselves serious damage by acting as if we are always either happy or angry and if we are not careful we shall all end up to sound like Michael Bessidine. Think of what damage that would do to the collective reputation of our trade. I remember when he came cap in hand to a London restaurant where I was lunching and asked my help with ... But that is another story.

Roy Hattersley's Who Goes Home? Scenes From A Political Life, is now available in Warner Brothers' paperback at £6.99



Beijing Diary

Andrew Higgins

FOR a rough guide to China's political mood look no further than the concrete and glass facade of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences building...

In the hands of the Chinese Communist Party 'archival consciousness' has become a tool of amnesia. History is recorded but rarely entirely revealed.

The 30th anniversary of the Cultural Revolution passed this summer in almost total silence thanks to an official blackout on public discussion of one of the most cataclysmic events of the 20th century.

The showcase of China's vast history industry is the Number One Historical Archives in the grounds of the Forbidden City.



Socialism — it's like a red rag to a Blair

Commentary

Ian Aitken

SIR Bernard Ingham, Lady Thatcher's former press secretary, would not have taken kindly to being described as a spin doctor.

Consider the position. New Labour is a party whose main purpose these past months has been to tiptoe as quietly as possible around most of the awkward issues.



Peter Hennessy suggests Whitehall and Labour need to practise

All together now

JUST a few days after the last transfer of power from a Conservative to a Labour government in March 1974, the new Foreign Secretary, Jim Callaghan, had his first meeting with his department's secretaries and staff.

vide ammunition for Dr Mawhinney, the Saatchi brothers and the Daily Mail. Then it is a tactic one can criticise. It is easy to understand in the light of Labour's traumatic experiences during the 1987 and 1992 general elections.

There are two possible explanations for these extraordinary events, and neither are gathering as usual in politics, they fall neatly under the headings of conspiracy theory or cock-up theory.



what they said, or they were speaking out of turn. If it was the former, something distinctly sinister must be going on, with Labour deliberately alienating the unions in order to gain favour with the business community.

But it is more than mere stream-of-consciousness babble when a member of Blair's front bench team chooses to propose deleting the word 'socialist' from Labour's vocabulary just two weeks before the party's crucial pre-election conference.



member of a supposedly disciplined team can behave in this way. To make such a protest is not to say that the use — or non-use — of the S-word has much more than emotional significance these days.

He hated the class system and social injustice which sprang from it

idea of socialism as a system in which important parts of the economy are publicly owned, while substantial segments of the rest are subject to some degree of government regulation.

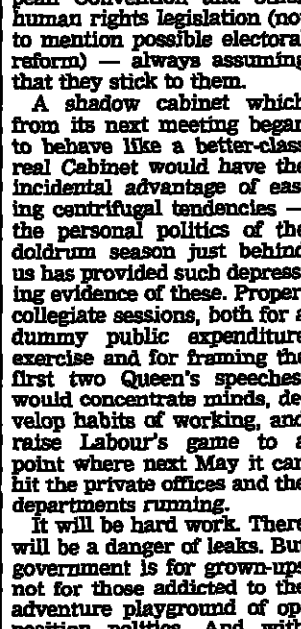
But that doesn't mean the Labour Party isn't really a condition of contrived schizophrenia — part Whitehall statesman/woman, part political partisan.



socialist party. Hugh Gaitskell was in no doubt whatever that he was a socialist, even though he was probably the most ideologically right-wing leader the party has ever had.

So what is a socialist party? The practical answer, I fear, is that it is any party which publicly declares itself to be a socialist party.

But that doesn't mean the Labour Party isn't really a condition of contrived schizophrenia — part Whitehall statesman/woman, part political partisan.



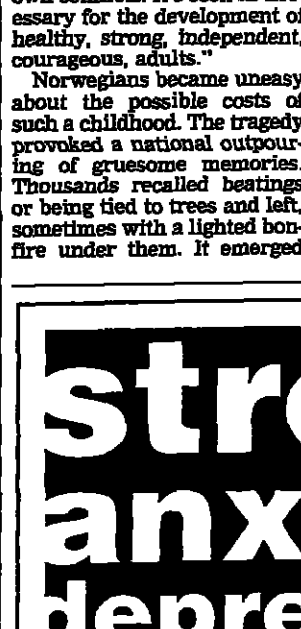
Spare the living and spoil the child



Ros Coward

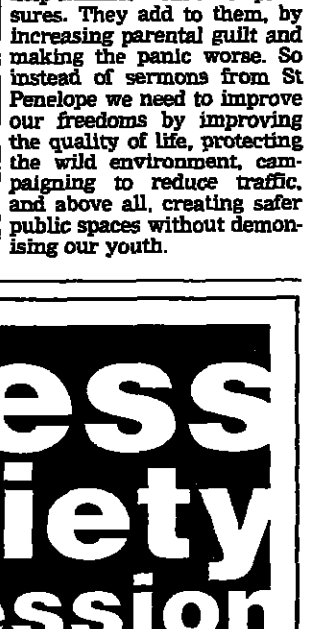
ONCE again we are anxious about our children. Stories of uncontrollable children excluded from school as young as five, and children challenging their parents in court, have stirred up panic about how we are raising them.

There are few parents who feel guilty about not hitting their children enough. But most can be reduced to paroxysms of self-recrimination when Penelope Leach tells us that, because we occasionally lose our rag, we would appear to be criminals under Scandinavian law.



that Norway has the highest rate of childhood accidents in Europe. But a consensus soon emerged that these risks were worth taking. What mattered was that children should be left free in nature to deal with their own experiences and conflicts.

LACKING the spaces of Norway, our children are brought up in claustrophobic homes. Everything conspires to keep them there, from parental worries about traffic and paedophiles to persistent public worries about young people who 'hang about'.



Advertisement for 'stress anxiety depression' with 'HOW TO SURVIVE' and 'Mind' logo. Includes text: 'Free in this NEW booklet - Your questions answered about stress, anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, apathy and much more.'

Country Diary

leaco



Juliet Prowse

# Have legs, will dance

**J**ULIET Prowse, who has died of pancreatic cancer, aged 61, was born too late and died too early. As a vivacious dancer and pleasing singer, she might have graced many a Hollywood musical in the heyday of the 1940s and 1950s. Fortunately, when she first gained attention in *Can-Can* in 1960, the genre was in decline. Though Prowse had the longest and most shapely legs in showbusiness since Cyd Charisse, she only got to flash them in a few films.

Juliet Prowse, who was born in Bombay of British parents who moved to South Africa, studied dancing in Johannesburg from an early age. At five feet eight inches tall, she was a natural ballerina, but while living in London in a Bayswater boarding house the 19-year-old got to dance in the chorus of *Mother Goose* at the Palladium, and was seen briefly as a showgirl in the film *Goodbye, Mary* (1955), a feeble farago, which made one understand why gentlemen prefer blondes.

Four years later, Prowse was spotted dancing in a Rome nightclub by choreographer Hermes Pan, who got her a Twentieth Century-Fox contract. She soon found herself being sung to by Frank Sinatra in *Can-Can*.

The moment comes, when Sinatra, having been given the brush off by Shirley MacLaine, sings "All Right With Me" to a smiling Prowse. But, as Cole Porter's lyrics have it, Prowse has "the wrong face, it's not her face". In fact, Prowse's elfin face was the right one for Frankie

who, having just dumped Marilyn Monroe, proposed marriage to her soon after filming was completed. But she broke up because, according to publicity handouts, Prowse wanted to concentrate on her career.

Actually, she admitted: "I was as much flattered as I was in love. He was a complex person, and after a few drinks he could be very difficult."

Though *Can-Can* was a top-heavy, gaudy musical, Prowse created an impression in the Adam and Eve ballet choreographed by Pan, and she was at the centre of the riotous dance finale, which shocked Nikita Khrushchev when he visited the set. According to the Soviet leader, her dancing was "like a hundred ballerinas in a room", disgusting and immoral, but she shook her hand just the same.

Immediately following *Can-Can*, Prowse was given the female lead in *GI Blues* (1960), Elvis Presley's first film on returning from military service. In a rehash of a couple of earlier Paramount pictures, notably *The Fleet's In*, Prowse played a hard-to-get cabaret singer, the object of a \$300 bet by Elvis, with his army buddies. She'll spend the night with her. Needless to say, he wins, after both she and he have rendered several songs.

During shooting, she had a short and intense fling with Elvis, much to Sinatra's disgust. "Elvis and I had an affair," she confessed, "We had a sexual attraction like two healthy young people, but he was already a victim of his fans. We always met in his room and never went out."

Although more than one critic considered her "sensational" in *GI Blues*, only two further musicals came her way, both in 1961: *The Right Approach*, supporting Frankie Vaughan, and *The Second Time Around*, in which she was fourth-billed as a dance-hall girl in the Arizona of 1912 — neither of which did much for her career or for the film musical.

Because of her South African upbringing, she was given the role of the daughter of a Boer leader in *The Pirates of the South Seas* (1961), helping to fight Zulu warriors in Natal in 1837. It was not much of a part, but she was the only one of the cast to deliver an authentic Afrikaans accent, though it was toned down for American audiences. In 1962, Prowse returned to apartheid-ridden South Africa to star in *Dingaka*, a dated and naive drama about tribal conflicts.

The rest of her films could be categorised as shock. It was through her annual Las Vegas shows that Prowse was most visible in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1979, she brought her show to the Palladium, a high-kicking extravaganza in which she changed costumes six times and, at the age of 46, was vigorously thrown around by a chorus of male dancers.

Previously, her celebrated legs, said to be insured by Lloyds for a million dollars, had been used to good effect in *Sweet Charity* in London in 1967. Although she did not have the drawing power of Ginger Rogers, from whom she took over in *Mame* at Drury Lane in 1969, she was able to bring far more energy to the title role.

Her next appearance in London was in the two-



The million-dollar legs... Juliet Prowse performing on a BBC variety show

handed musical, *I Do, I Do* in which she showed more pizzazz than Rock Hudson.

Juliet Prowse's broad, toothy smile and chirpy personality hid some of her personal problems. In 1969, she married choreographer Eddie James, a marriage which

lasted six months, and then she married (and later divorced) TV actor John McCook, with whom she had a son. In 1988, she was badly mauled by a leopard during rehearsals for the CBS-TV special *Circus of the Stars*; in 1984, she was struck down by

the disease against which she struggled so bravely for so long.

Ronald Bergen  
Juliet Prowse, actress-dancer, born September 25, 1934; died September 14, 1996

General Ernesto Geisel

# Slightly left of extreme right

**S**LOWLY the grim-faced, Latin American military dictators of the 1960s and 1970s are beginning to die off, their deaths a reminder of a bleak and now distant era of repression and brutality. General Ernesto Geisel, who has died aged 88, was just one in a long line of rulers in the institutionalised military dictatorship of Brazil that provided a model for much of the rest of Latin America. But his four-year term, from 1964, was marked by a turn away from the state terrorism that had characterised the rule of his immediate predecessors, and by moves towards incorporating a wider section of society into a future democracy.

Terrified by the impact on Latin America of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the United States (under President Kennedy) first encouraged reform in the continent (even sanctioning the assassination of the Dominican dictator General Trujillo). Then, deciding that this strategy was too risky, it fell back on the well-tried formula of military rule that was to destroy reformists and revolutionaries alike. Brazil led the way in 1964 with an American-backed military coup that created a regime that was to last for nearly a quarter of a century. Terror, torture, imprisonment, and exile was the fate of those who opposed it.

Ernesto Geisel was a key player in that regime from the start. In 1964 he ran the Military Household of the first dictator, Humberto Castello Branco, and became an indispensable figure in the subsequent governments of Arthur da Costa e Silva and Emilio Garrastazú Médici.

Geisel, the son of a Lutheran teacher, came from a family of German immigrants that had arrived in Rio Grande do Sul at the turn of the century. As in many Latin American countries, close-knit family connections have always been a help in politics. Geisel's brother, Orlando, also a general, became Brazil's war minister, giving Geisel an indispensable insight into the plotting and intrigue of the Brazilian armed forces.

On a political spectrum that was already skewed to the extreme right, Geisel emerged as a relatively liberal figure. As a senior officer, he had actually opposed the first attempts made by military plotters to overthrow the civilian regime of João Goulart in 1962. He was clearly unhappy about the repression that characterised Brazil after 1964, and during his presidency in the 1970s the country made its first faltering steps towards an eventual democratic opening.

Like all the military dictators of his era, before the Chileans broke the mould, Geisel was a firm advocate of the mixed economy. He was popular with foreign firms and banks, but the Brazilian generals loved the old state industries, running the steel works, the roads and their



**Brazilian dictator... Geisel**  
lighted with the visit, and even the austere figure of the editor of the Guardian graced the Palace banquet.

Twenty years on, many Brazilians have been prepared to forget or forgive. Brazil's current president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a sociologist, forced into exile during years of military rule, paid a visit to Geisel recently, noting on the news of his death that his period as president had been "marked by his efforts to end repression".

Richard Gott  
Ernesto Geisel, politician, born August 3, 1907; died September 12, 1996

Tupac Shakur

# The reality of gangsta rap

**T**HE CAREER of rapper Tupac Shakur, who has died from gunshot wounds aged 25, was built on controversy. Although he sold millions of records in the United States, in this country he will be better remembered for his violent life and many run-ins with the police. Next to Snoop Doggy Dog, Shakur was the most notorious of the gangsta rappers whose lives seem to reflect their lyrics. The fatal drive-by shooting was the second gun attack he had suffered in three years.

As a teenager, Shakur was a member of the Oakland, California-based collective, Digital Underground, whose 1989 album, *Ser Packerz*, had an enormous, if largely unrecognised, influence on the development of rap. Ironically, Digital Underground had pronounced themselves "fed up" of the emergent gangsta rap of bands like Niggaz With Attitude. Instead, they opted for intricate, lyrical flights of fancy which satirised gang and drug-dealing culture, set to slow beats drawn from the 1970s P-funk of George Clinton. This was the sound which spread out from California and engulfed hip-hop in the early 1990s, and Shakur could plausibly claim to have been there at its inception.

G-funk, as it became known, swiftly returned to the theme of gangsterism, the lyrics becoming more extravagant and outlandishly violent. Shakur joined the roster of Death Row, the definitive G-funk record label. Under the name of 2Pac, and as a part of Thug

Life, he made a stream of records setting vicious tales of gunplay to incongruous mellow music, culminating in last year's sprawling, hugely successful *All Eyez On Me*.

Shakur was born in New York City. His mother was a member of the Black Panthers and was in jail on a bombing charge while pregnant with him; she was acquitted. He spent his childhood in the Bronx, moving to Baltimore where he studied acting at the High School for the Performing Arts. He wrote his first rap after a friend was killed while playing with guns, began performing and dropped out of high school. When he moved to northern California he auditioned for Digital Underground but was initially hired as one of their roadcrew.

Gangsta rap has had a profound effect on American life, helping to place race at the forefront of the political agenda, leading to unlikely alliances between the old hand, rightwing traditionalists, black groups who objected to its "negative stereotypes" and feminists who despised its cartoon misogyny; and on the other, anticensorship liberals who defended rappers' right to say things which might find rapists. When Shakur's 1991 album, *2Pacalypse Now*, was cited in court as influencing a teenager to kill a Texas state trooper, the then Vice President Dan Quayle demanded it be banned. The court, however, declared the evidence inadmissible.

Even 2Pac's film career was dogged by controversy. After a role in Ernest Dickerson's

film *Juice*, he played the male lead opposite Janet Jackson in *Poetic Justice*. He claimed that Janet Jackson's representatives demanded he undergo an AIDS test before kissing her. It was strenuously denied.

In 1994, while on trial for sodomising a woman in a Manhattan hotel suite, Shakur was arrested on weapons charges, then seriously wounded in what many thought was a murder attempt staged as a robbery. Rumours, rarely pinned, began to escalate of an East Coast/West Coast feud between the 2Pac camp and New York rap producer Shaun "Puffy" Combs.

In 1994, Shakur was convicted on the sex charge and sentenced to 18 months to four and a half

years a day after the shooting. While in prison, he married his long-term girlfriend, Keisha Morris; the marriage was later annulled. In October 1995, he was released pending appeal, having served eight months, after his record company had put up \$1.4 million in bail. *Me Against the World*, released later that year, sold two million copies. He also began recording songs for *All Eyez On Me*, which has now sold five million copies.



Notorious rapper with lyrical touches... Tupac Shakur

Wing Commander Clive Beadon

# Flights of heroism

**C**LIVE BEADON, who has died aged 77, was a relatively liberal figure. As a senior officer, he had actually opposed the first attempts made by military plotters to overthrow the civilian regime of João Goulart in 1962. He was clearly unhappy about the repression that characterised Brazil after 1964, and during his presidency in the 1970s the country made its first faltering steps towards an eventual democratic opening.

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anti-aircraft guns, his tail-gunner was killed and the aircraft itself, more than 1,000 miles from its base, caught fire. Yet Beadon succeeded in bringing the bomber back to India. For this feat, in 1945 he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Beadon remained in the service after the war, but following the episode with the Kabaka his career took a less strenuous turn. He served as British air attaché in Venezuela from 1954 to 1957 and in the early 1960s worked at the Ministry of Defence. He also devised an escape kit and a jungle suit for airmen.

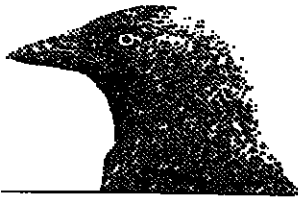
In 1966 he left the RAF. It was then that his skills as a dowser — locating oil and water — emerged. Earlier this year he claimed on television to have located between 50 and 75 million gallons of oil, somewhat inconveniently located in Windsor Great Park. He was vice-president of the British Society of Dowisers.

When Beadon had arrived in London with the Kabaka, the pilot bowed — and apologised. The monarch's subsequent career was ill-starred. Back in Uganda in the mid-1960s, he was again exiled from independent Uganda in 1966. He died of a penicillin alcohol in Bermuda in 1968.

Clive Beadon married Vicki Oliver in 1947. After her death in 1964 he married Jane Whigham, who, with his stepson John, survive him.

Nigel Fountain  
Wing Commander Clive Beadon DFC, airman, born April 15, 1919; died September 14, 1996

Jackdaw



**Therapy spot**  
ACTING out: Expressing strong feelings through strange behaviour, instead of communicating them through speech.

**Behavioural disorders:** An acceptable excuse, label for a kind of unseemly behaviour.

**Co-dependent:** The notion that someone can "save" someone else by loving them.

**Self-actualisation:** Realising and expressing your full potential as a human being, usually via therapy.

**Being pro-active:** grasping the nettle, doing something positive rather than waiting for things to happen to you.

**Passive-aggressive:** Controlling others and displaying anger in a covert manner.

**To internalise:** To take in (and stew about) negative issues (often beliefs/behaviours you learned from your parents).

**Dysfunctional:** Bad/unhealthy; as in dysfunctional family.

**The inner child:** That little person inside all of us who needs tender loving care (and who can be blamed for feelings of vulnerability).

**Unconditional love:** Love that has no conditions; usually demanded by the above.

**Issues:** Non-judgemental terms for problems/obsessions.

**Cosmopolitan offers us their guide to getting to grips with shrink speak, very important in these days of the confessing stars on the couch.**

**Turned on**  
VILLAGERS in Yorkshire were woken by a burst of music from their church steeple earlier this summer. No choirs of angels these: it was Zam, and St John the

**Evangelist:** Golcar, was relaying the rhythmic beat of Radio 1. Had the church been commandeered for a rave? Fearing the worst the police were called, and the vicar was summoned from his bed. The answer lay in heavenly messengers that had somehow taken a wrong turning; the steeple lightning conductor, acting as an aerial, had picked up signals intended for nearby transmitter masts. Meanwhile, in the church below, the record player, used for recordings of church bells had been left on after a wedding, and was triumphantly broadcasting Radio 1's best into the night through the steeple speakers.

**News of parishioners tuning in reported in the Church Times.**

**Home help**  
"PUT ON an apron" advises home and lifestyle expert Martha Stewart. "Then organise the scene, putting like things together. Take a rubber sponge and scrape the dishes, carefully if you are using your nicest china. At this point, I always rinse the dishes in hot

water. Then stack according to the dish. Then rinse the silverware and put it in a tub of soapy water in the sink. All glasses should be rinsed and lined up on the counter or on a tray somewhere out of your way. Then you must determine what can go in the dishwasher and what can't. This is somewhat of a mystery to a lot of people. I never put knives, wood, plastic, or things with pearl handles in the dishwasher. Ever. These things never go in the dishwasher. You don't put fine crystal in the dishwasher, either.

Stacking the dishwasher is also an art form that eludes a lot of us for our entire lives," says Stewart. "Just open it up and look at it. Before you do anything, figure out where the dinner plates go and where the glasses go. Some of the upper racks move to accommodate longer stems. Then you wash the delicate stuff. For this, you line everything but the drain of the sink with terry-cloth towels. While you are washing the dishes, if you drop one or hit it on the sink, it won't break. You have a tub filled

with soapy water for your sponge, and you rinse under running water. All of this stuff your wife can put away the next day, because she knows where it goes and you don't. You must also put in really good music. And pour yourself a good glass of wine. A sauternes, maybe a chateau d'Yquem. 1983. And it's nice if your wife sits there and talks to you. It's a good time to hush over the party. For me, that is sometimes the nicest part of a party, if I had a good time."

*Washing advice in American Esquire, "the magazine for men". This description would put any man off ever doing the washing up, probably the secret plan, conspiracy theories and all that.*

**Toilet teachers**  
THERE is a large picture of a blonde woman with a pointy nose, walking along smoking a cigarette and wearing a big quilted anorak. Underneath appears the slogan: "PUFFA jackets are sexy! Soft and squacey like a lady!" For the most part, however academics are competitive people

and don't want to waste their time on gentle stuff such as this. They want to be one up on the opposition. Hence the debate on the Irish Question, which begins with the bold statement: "IRA are right to fight". Somewhere has crossed out "to fight" and inserted in its place "load of shit". This in its turn has provoked the pugacious response: "I bet you think you're really hard. Well, come to

**The BEST MAN OF THE ESQUIRE**  
CLINTON WITHOUT APOLOGIES  
LEARN HOW TO LOVE DATE

Dishing the dirt... Esquire

Birthdays

Russ Abbott, comedian, 48; Lauren Bacall, actress, 72; Charlie Byrd, jazz guitarist, 71; Tommy Carberry, jockey, 55; George Chakiris, actor and dancer, 63; Prof Ken Coates, Labour MEP, 66; Dennis Conner, yachtsman, 54; Peter Falk, actor, 69; Anne Francis, actress, 64; Loyd Grossman, broadcaster, 46; Charles Haughey, former Irish prime minister, 71; B B King, blues guitarist, singer, 70; Lee Kuan Yew, former prime minister of Singapore, 74; Judith Miller, publisher, 45; Stephanie Middleton, artist, glass sculptor, 28; Sadako Ogata,

UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 68; Janis Paige, actress, 74; Baroness Pike, former MP, 78; Dame Stella Rimington, Standing Committee of Nurses of EBC, 76; Steve Shirley, computer pioneer, founder director, FI Group, 63; Neville Southall, goalkeeper, 38; Peter Townsend, golfer, 50; David Wilshire, Conservative MP, 53.

Death Notice

MOORE, Owen. On September 12, peacefully, after a long illness bravely borne. Private cremation. A memorial service in celebration of his life will be held on Sunday, 15th September, at 11.00 am, in the church of St. John the Baptist, 28, Westbourne Grove, London W2 4UL.

Upstairs is the world of the rational ego. To descend to the murky basement of the id is to descend to the world of the id, a world of pre-adolescent urges and obsessions. Upstairs, men tap carefully considering penises into their laptops; downstairs, they take out their ball points and: "Give me the warm XXXX of a young XXXX to use as XXXX." (Those who do not my my delicious — some sensitive soul has taken it upon himself to act as a censor.) Maybe the strain of thinking at an elevated level for long periods demands some release. Maybe men have to descend to earth — or beneath it — after a spell in the empyrean realms of thought.

Brandon Robinson puzzles on the question of just who is responsible for the profits in the British Library lavatories in the New Statesman.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk, fax 0171-713 4306, Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Emily Sheffield

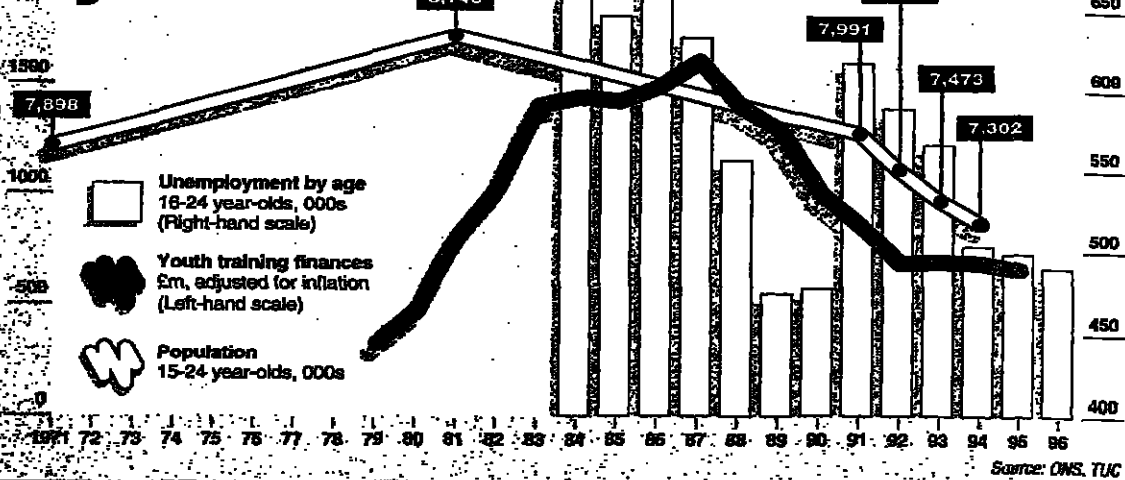
مركز الأحياء



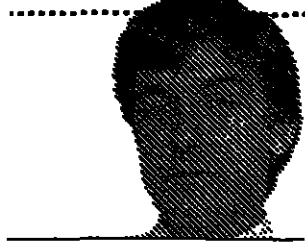
ELECTION BATTLEGROUND/Disastrous Tory employment strategy has left one third of the under-25s jobless



Britain's youth



Lost legacy of youth's right to work



Larry Elliott

THE one thing that can be said about the approach to youth unemployment over the past two decades is that it has been consistent. The Government has tried the stick, followed up with a bit more stick and, when that has failed, decided to try just a little more stick.

Little wonder, then, that young people are utterly disaffected by politics. A recent TUC survey found that only two out five were certain of voting, and 89 per cent thought politicians had no conception of what working life was really like. And that was just those in work.

Young people have every reason to be fed up. They endure rates of unemployment that are double the national average, suffer from the worst sort of pay exploitation and are treated like cannon fodder on training schemes.

What's more, the usual mélange of deregulatory measures in the 1990s removed young people's rights and cut relative wages so that they could "price themselves into the labour market".

Yet around one third of the UK's jobless are under 25, the number of 16-year-olds going into

a full-time job has fallen from 29 per cent to 8 per cent in a decade, and only 2 per cent of young people believe they will find employment without difficulty.

Quite obviously, there is a mismatch between demand and supply. But rather than face the blindingly obvious — expand demand to create more jobs for young people — the Government's obeisance to supply-side measures has led it down one blind alley after another.

Supply-side measures have their place. Firms may be more willing to expand if there is a ready pool of skilled workers available. But even a die-hard government supporter would be hard pressed to argue that the explosion in the training budget since 1979 was a carefully-crafted response to the challenges of the modern labour market.

Neither they nor their offspring see the promised land ahead. They see a government which has merely ratcheted up the qualifications needed for any job, expanded higher education so that the

education and training serve only as waiting rooms, not launching pads. The demand both for skilled labour and the supply of skilled labour must be part of the intervention equation. Quite.

All the main parties swear blind that they have the balance right, but if the behaviour of consumers in the market place is anything to go by, they are not fooling anybody.

Parents — particularly those who have been well-educated — are utterly neurotic about the scholastic achievement of their offspring, because they perceive a shortage of jobs and a situation in which only the fittest will survive.

Neither they nor their offspring see the promised land ahead. They see a government which has merely ratcheted up the qualifications needed for any job, expanded higher education so that the

step ahead on the employment ladder?

The main political parties have fed this paranoia by their utilitarian approach to education, which has seen school as a glimpath to the world of work. The idea that education is an end in itself has been lost in favour of an approach which has borrowed wholesale the language of business and describes pupils as inputs, outputs and value-added.

All this has had many grotesque manifestations: parents falsifying addresses to be in the catchment areas of "good" schools, pretending they are religious to secure entry into church schools, buying new suits to impress at the parental interviews that are now a back-door method of selection.

However, the apotheosis of this absurdity is the suggestion, apparently supported by both main parties, that children should now be tested at five years old. Middle-class parents will ensure that their children can read, write and do their tables; as one Guardian correspondent noted, it is they who should be tested, not the children.

The time has come to restore a bit of sanity. First, we should turn the received wisdom of the past 17 years on its head: rather than ask whether we can afford to find jobs for the young we ought to ask whether we can afford not to. The answer is that we cannot. It is not just the financial cost, horrendous though that is, but the soaring crime figures and the unspeakable waste of potential.

Second, the whole concept of state-sponsored training needs to be reconsidered. We have to face the fact that the £2 billion spent either directly or indirectly by the Government is poor value for money. Why? Because this is one area where the state cannot second-guess the market. Individual firms know what skills they need and should arrange to train people themselves. What if more, they should pay for it themselves.

All the evidence shows that training is only really effective for those who already have jobs for whom they do not, it is an added stigma — a sign that they are a remedial case. Put simply, that £2 billion would be better spent on education or on allowing local authorities to hire people to do jobs that need doing but are left undone because of a lack of resources.

Finally, the Government needs to make a proper bargain with young people. In a full-employment society there is nothing wrong with the state insisting that the able-bodied put something back. But having the stick without the carrot is futile. We've had enough of the former; it's about time we gave the latter a try.

Next week: The Liberal Democrats



Keeping it going... self-employed Trevor Sutcliffe builds and repairs farming machinery PHOTOGRAPH: CHRISTOPHER THOMOND

How gamble on rural ride came off

Low-paid apprentice Trevor Sutcliffe quit to run his own thriving business. This is his story as told to SARAH RYLE

I LEFT school at 16 and went straight into a job. I took a couple of temporary positions but I didn't really take to those because they were mechanics' jobs and I have always wanted to be on the welding side.

My ideal job came up and I was there for 18 months. But I was getting a bit of hassle off my boss and I was earning only £50 for a 40-hour week before overtime.

I was an apprentice doing a fully qualified person's job. My boss would tell me to do a job and I'd have to figure it out for myself. He would have jobs for those who do not, it is an added stigma — a sign that they are a remedial case.

I've always wanted my own business anyway. My uncle gave me a big job to set off with, it was three months' work, making parts for farm machinery. That was in January.

I've tried to keep out of the way of banks, I don't like them and I haven't borrowed anything. I run everything off a current account and, once I've paid my £30-a-week board and we go to the pub a bit, but recently we've all got girlfriends and they are still at school, so we generally go round to their houses.

Cash flow can be a problem when all the bills come and put a hosepipe in his car. My brother, Gary, found him and saved him. There was a bad lot at

I was not academic, I just did what I had to do. I did seven or eight GCSEs and I think I ended up with four Cs, but not in anything very useful.

I did think about college, but I knew what I wanted to do. I've always learned more just by doing things. To be apprenticed, I had to go to college on block release. It was a three-year course, I did 18 months. I wanted to carry on when I became self-employed but they wouldn't let me. They needed someone to oversee me.

I could have gone and done it at Blackburn but it was going to be £70 a day. I make about £200 a week when I average all the jobs out but it all goes into equipment so I don't really have much money to go out with. We go to the pub a bit, but recently we've all got girlfriends and they are still at school, so we generally go round to their houses.

The other day we had an attempted suicide. Somebody had come all the way up here to top himself. He'd parked in one of the fields and put a hosepipe in his car. My brother, Gary, found him and saved him. There was a bad lot at

People are surprised when they find out how old I am. I had one customer who ordered a big job over the phone, and when he came to see me he was a bit worried. People think you haven't got the experience. But then he saw the job.

People said I would never last, but I am prepared to do anything and I feel fairly secure. The recession doesn't really affect farmers, and they will always want machinery. The BSE thing has knocked them back, but people will always want milk and meat.

National politics don't really seem to affect us. I was born in 1978 so I was only one when the Conservatives came in. I haven't known anything else. I'm coming up to vote for the first time and I don't really know who I'll vote for yet.

THE Ribblesdale valley is a Conservative area. People always expect farmers to be Conservative, and this is a farming area. There is quite a local spirit round here. Although most people are law-abiding, we seem to always be in touch with the police and we get on with them. We get cars which have been stolen being driven around here and getting left and burned out.

I don't actually begrudge paying taxes so long as the roads are kept right and there is good police force and schools and so on. Obviously, you can't go over the top, but if the taxes are reasonable and they are being spent well, then I don't mind.

I don't know whether it would have been different if I'd grown up in a town. I wouldn't want to go and live in one now.

school, but most of them have managed to get work. Unemployment isn't a problem here. It sounds surprising, but I've spoken to employers who say they can't get enough of the right sort of workers. They all want farmers' sons, because they say they work hard and they are reliable.

I think we should be a lot tougher over that. I don't like the way we got pushed around, like over the BSE crisis. I think they've done it for their own ends, to boost their own sales, especially Germany.

I think that the French have got it right, if they don't like something, they all stand together. If they don't want British sheep, they put up barriers. We should be doing that. We always seem to be too soft.

I think it's wrong that the Spanish can come and fish here when there isn't enough to go around anyway. At the moment, the Conservatives seem to be tougher, and I don't really know what Labour is saying about it.

I don't actually begrudge paying taxes so long as the roads are kept right and there is good police force and schools and so on. Obviously, you can't go over the top, but if the taxes are reasonable and they are being spent well, then I don't mind.

I don't know whether it would have been different if I'd grown up in a town. I wouldn't want to go and live in one now.

It's the power generation that's to blame

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

AFRICAN democracy, cynics used to say, amounted to one man, one vote. In a similar way, the baby-bulge generation through the seven ages of man brings about a once-and-for-all blossoming in the prospects of a particular age group: the one it happens to occupy at the time.

Thirty years ago, youth was The Future, and the bulge-types demanded immediate access to the best jobs.

By the 1960s, "young professionals" were hailed as the shock troops of the economy ("young" meaning 40-ish, roughly the age of the bulge). Now, as the calendar takes its toll, the bulgers are red-hot for the latest crusade, Codgers' Rights, aka "anti-ageism".

This triumphal progress is all very admirable in its own way, but it does raise the question of what has happened in the meantime to those who are objectively young, as opposed to the greying pseudo-young establishment.

Sad to say, the story here is of prospects dwindling in direct relation to the growing distance between each new generation and the all-powerful bulge.

Thus, 10-15 years ago, as "sound money" policies generated strategic levels of

youth unemployment, the young — while no longer the storm-troops of the future they had been in the 1960s — were at least treated as an undeveloped resource, rather like derelict docklands.

Redevelopment (costly retraining schemes and back-to-work initiatives) was the order of the day.

Today, the inter-generational terms of trade have worsened, and youth unemployment is seen no longer as a "tragedy" but a moral judgment on the fecklessness of the young themselves.

The emphasis of training is no longer to tap a valuable resource but to "re-tool" the individual (and re-tool his "attitudes" in particular) in the hope he may make himself acceptable to "inward investors" (that is, international capital).

The last senior figure who genuinely believed young people had a tremendous contribution to make was poor old Neil Kinnock, and how dated he sounded even then.

Now, the economic role of youth is primarily statistical, in both its absence from un-

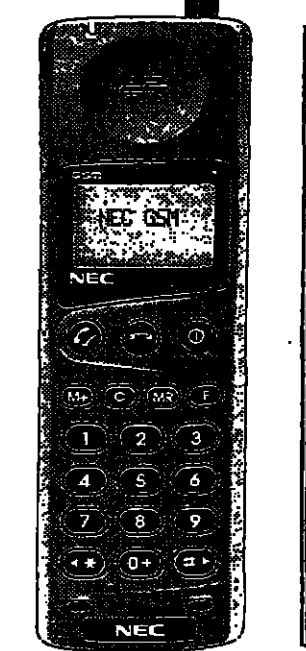
employment figures (thanks to the abovementioned schemes and the warehousing of thousands of would-be unemployed in the Government's dodgy degree mills) and its presence in reams of bogus "record" exam results, it has become an abstraction, to be tucked around as proof of the success of "market-based solutions".

Children-youth adults are to be seen only in these government-generated figures and heard only on contrived yoo! programmes. You've come a long way, kid.

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12 SPORTS NEWS

Racing

Leger bans bring back whips issue

Are the Jockey Club being swayed by a public minority, asks Chris Hawkins

There is something wrong with the rules of racing when an example of all that is best and most thrilling about the sport results in suspensions for the principal protagonists and consequent bad publicity. This was the outcome of Saturday's Pertemps St Leger at Doncaster when Frankie Dettori (four days) and Pat Eddery (two days) both picked up bans for excessive use of the whip after displaying the jockeys' finishing art in all its brilliance. As Shantou beat Dushyantor by a neck a huge Doncaster crowd roared its approval and millions of television viewers must have moved to the edge of their seats. No doubt the sight of gladiators fighting to the death had a similar emotive effect on the masses in the Coliseum and it can be argued that gratifying the lust for excitement is no justification for cruelty. But who is to say the St Leger finish was cruel? No blood was spilled and neither horse was marked. True, Dettori hit Shantou 13 times, but if he would surely not have gone through with his effort. Thoroughbreds exist to race. It has been bred into them over generations and some of them, believe it or not, actually seem to like it. Yet because of a minority view, held by many unconnected with racing, the Jockey Club has been forced into making a rule which is constantly bringing the game into disrepute. If a jockey hits a horse more the six times the stewards are entitled to take a look and decide whether it is excessive. Patrick Hibbert-Foy, the stewards secretary at Doncaster, defended the stewards' decision by saying there had been one or two telephone calls from the public complaining about the jockeys. One hopes he is not saying these calls made up the minds of the stewards, although it did take them nearly two hours before they decided to act. Presumably the administrators know more than the public, although there has been no shortage of embarrassing incidents highlighting the amateur status of stewards - another example of racing shooting itself in the foot. Eddery hit the nail on the head, commenting: "We saw it in the 2,000 Guineas and now here. The way things are going every time two horses fight out an finish in a Classic the jockeys are going to get banned." The Jockey Club really has dug a very deep hole for itself and the only solution now seems to be to ban the whip altogether. This, of course, will be a triumph for the minority and would take no account of the view of the jockeys, who say a whip is an essential aid to riding in keeping a horse straight and avoiding trouble. The suspensions take effect from September 23. Dettori is on 12 points and on the verge of a compulsory 14-day ban under the totting-up procedure.

Paris or Champion for Shaamit

The Derby winner Shaamit could only finish fourth behind Timarida in the Irish Champion Stakes on Saturday - another knock for this year's Classic form. Shaamit was short of room on the inside, but failed to quicken when eventually pulled out by Michael Hills. "My colt needs a good pace and there was no gallop," said Willie Haggas. "He hasn't really had a race and because of that he's definitely have one more run, either in the Arc or the Champion Stakes."

Fontwell (N.H.)

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

3.15 ELTON VEHICLE CONTRACTS HANDICAP CHASE

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

3.45 STEEL BOLERS AND RADATORS HANDICAP HURDLES

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

4.15 FONTWELL HANDICAP CHASE

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

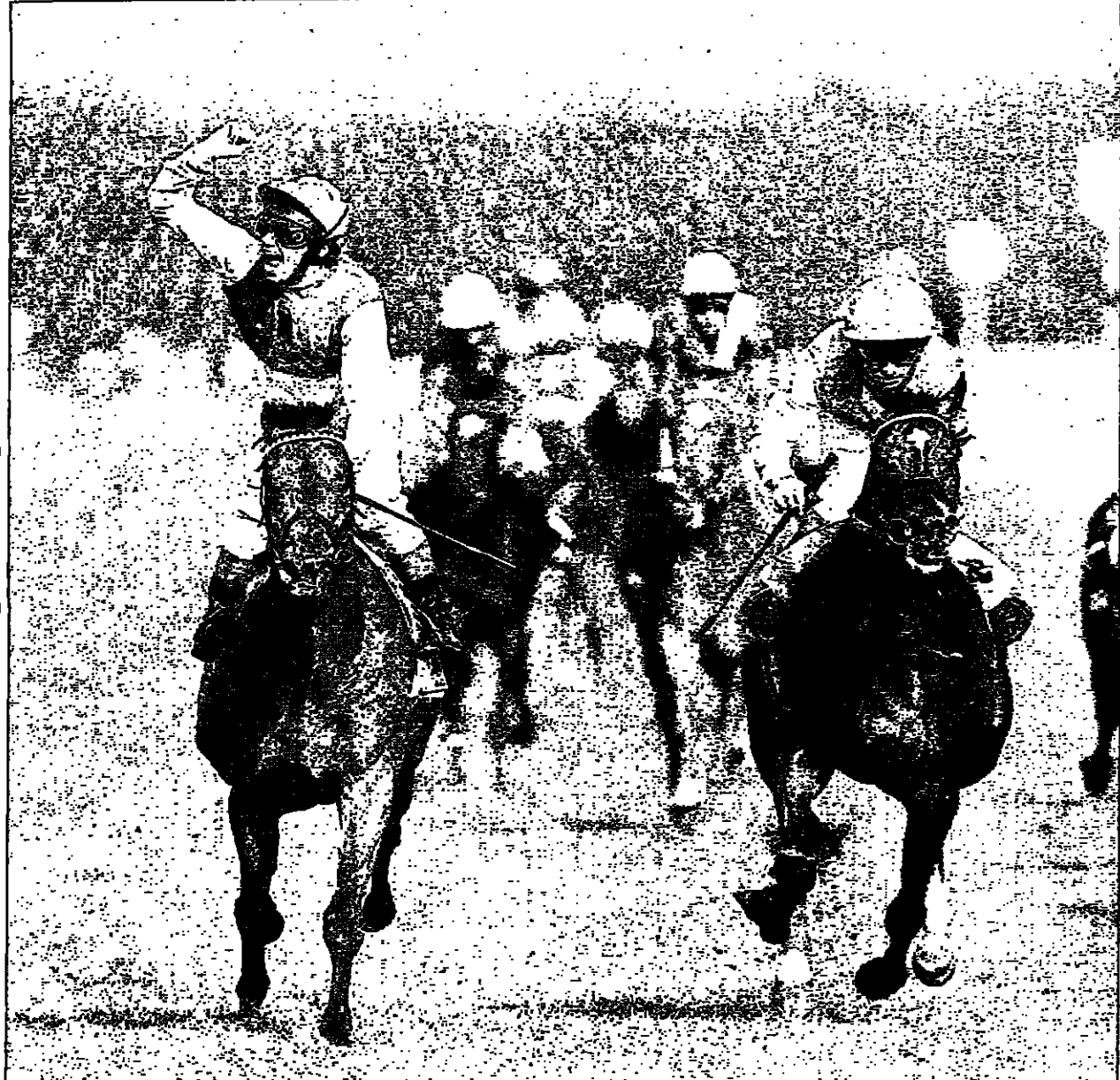
4.45 COWFOLD SWIMMING POOL HANDICAP HURDLES

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

Blinkered today for the first time: NOTTINGHAM: 2.00 Prague Spring; 3.00 Dazzle Me; Another Batchesworth; 3.30 Times of Miss Lillibella; FONTWELL: 2.15 Kings Nightclub; 3.45 Miss Pimpernel; 4.15 L'Uomo Piu.

RACELINE advertisement with phone number 0930 1688 and list of racing events.

Cigar on song CIGAR bounced back from last month's shock defeat in the Pacific Classic with a smooth four-length victory over L'Carriere in the Grade One Woodward Stakes at Belmont Park on Saturday.



Winning salute... Frankie Dettori shows his joy in getting Shantou home ahead of Dushyantor in the St Leger. PHOTO: MICHAEL STEELE

Helissio 4-1 favourite for the Arc

HELISSIO was cut to 4-1 favourite for the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe on October 6 by Ladbrokes after winning yesterday's Prix Niel at Longchamp with a superb display of front-running. writes Chris Hawkins. Olivier Pastier has a great pair of "hands" and got Helissio, who had pulled very hard in the French Derby, to settle beautifully and the pair were never headed. Helissio, beaten only once in his career, lengthened his stride in the straight and comfortably held off the Aga Khan's Darzarzi. Pastier could be claimed for Daniel Wildenstein's Miss Tahiti in the Arc, in which case Cash Asmusen is likely to ride Helissio, a big, strapping colt by Fairy King. The latter is proving to be tremendous sire and was responsible for Revoque, a surprise winner of the Prix La Sallandre for Peter Chappelle-Hyam. Zafonic's half-brother Zamzar was odds-on and attempted to make all but hurried all the way by The West, could not quicken. John Reid pointed in the final furlong on Robert Sangster's Revoque, whose acceleration proved decisive. Revoque was switched from Doncaster's Champagne Stakes on Friday because of the earlier going in France and the decision paid off with a first prize of over £52,000.

here compared to £44,000 at Doncaster. Revoque is now quoted as low as 8-1 second favourite for next year's 2,000 Guineas behind the 5-1 shot Bahhare, winner of the Champagne Stakes at Doncaster. The King George winner Pentire, recently sold to Japanese businessman Teruya Yoshida for \$8 million, was beaten by Swain in his prep race for the Arc, the Prix Foy. There was a funeral early pace, which prompted Michael Hills to send Pentire, who is normally held for a late burst, to the front after two furlongs. It looked for a while as if the tactics might work, but Swain cut down Geoff Wragg's charge in the final half-furlong. At least Pentire had a good workout - he had not run for nearly two months - and he did his Arc prospects little harm, remaining a 6-1 chance with Hill's. Rae Guest achieved the greatest success of his career when the Newmarket trainer sent out My Emma to beat Papering in the group one Prix Vermeille. Cash Asmusen rode a finely judged waiting race on My Emma, whose only previous success had been in a Newmarket maiden. John Murtagh, the Irish jockey, was banned for four days after being found guilty of careless riding on Zafzafa, who originally finished second but was demoted to fifth.

Nottingham runners and riders with form guide

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details including horse names, jockeys, and trainers.

Tennis

Goellner marks the spot and Costa cleans up

Stephen Bierley in Bournemouth THE Germans, as may be recalled from the 1966 World Cup, have not been terribly lucky with line calls in this country and Marc-Kevin Goellner was far from enamoured by a decision in the final set of yesterday's Bournemouth Open which saw his service broken at a critical time. Spain's Alberto Costa, ranked 15th in the world, went on to win 5-7, 6-2, 6-3 and collect £38,000, although not before Goellner had been involved in a spot of the verbals with the umpire Gerry Armstrong. Clay-court tennis differs from hard-court or grass in that the ball invariably leaves a mark on the court. Some of these marks are real, others belong in the minds of the players and all have to be adjudged by the umpire, who frequently has to descend from the lofty heights of his chair to get a closer look. Originally a Costa forehand was called out but Mr Armstrong over-ruled. "Tell me where the mark is, I can't see it," said Goellner in near-perfect English - not surprising since he lives in Hertfordshire. Mr Armstrong preferred not to get involved but with Goellner continuing to fret and fizzle, he hopped down and pointed a firm finger on the line. Goellner was not convinced, although Bournemouth's genteel audience were by now beginning a slow handclap. "We players are a little tense and nervous but the umpire is relaxed. He was a very good umpire," said Costa, who had his own moment of audible doubt in the first set. The Bournemouth clay-court tournament, having expired in 1983, has returned with considerable vigour and the final was an excellent match by any standards. Costa was a gloriously confident and clear favourite. The Spanish has 15 players in the top 100, with Costa the current best ahead of Felix Mantilla and Alex Corretja. Goellner, ranked 103rd, secured his only tournament win three years ago in Nice but has not built on that. Under his coach Andre Mauer, Goellner has had an upturn this year, teaming up with David Prinosel to win a doubles bronze medal at the Olympics, where they were beaten in the semi-finals by Tim Henman and Neil Bradbury. In Saturday's semi-final, German defeated Australia's Jason Stoltenberg, who had previously knocked out Britain's No. 2 Greg Rusedski. Goellner continued that form in yesterday's first set, pressuring Costa into mistakes and winning the tie-break 7-4. The Spaniard let out a huge double cry of anguish towards the start of the second set as yet another shot nestled into the net, but it was Goellner who began to fragment. It was a gloriously sunny afternoon, with butterflies flicking across the green clay. One tried to settle on Costa, who reacted as if it was a bee. Thereafter he both floated and stung. The line-call row and, more importantly, the break for 3-1 in the final set saw Goellner's resolve falter. This, incidentally, will be Alberto Costa's last title. From now on he will officially be called Albert. "It is the Catalan way," he said. Nobody argued.

Ice Hockey

Four cheers for Superleague but tears for the Canadians

VICTORIES by Bracknell, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield ensured an all-Superleague line-up when they joined Ayr, Basingstoke, Cardiff and Manchester in today's draw for the Benson and Hedges Cup quarter-finals. Bracknell Bees' 2-1 win at Guildford would have been by a greater margin but for the heroics of the netminder John Wolfe. He stopped 45 of 47 shots fired at him, falling only with one each from Chris Brant and Dale Junkin after Nicky Cross had scored for the home team. Eric Lindros and Adam Foote had scored for the Canadians, whose star Wayne Gretzky tearfully described the defeat as "devastating" for the players and "probably home win over Solihull, while Jonathan Weaver, Jukka Suomala and Ralf Hantschke each scored twice as Newcastle beat Tafton 12-1. Four goals in the final period enabled the United States to come from behind to beat Canada 5-2 in the deciding game of the Final Round series in the inaugural World Cup of Hockey in Montreal. The Canadians led 2-1 seven minutes from time but Brett Hull scored twice as Newcastle beat Tafton 12-1. Four goals in the final period enabled the United States to come from behind to beat Canada 5-2 in the deciding game of the Final Round series in the inaugural World Cup of Hockey in Montreal. The Canadians led 2-1 seven minutes from time but Brett Hull scored twice as Newcastle beat Tafton 12-1. Four goals in the final period enabled the United States to come from behind to beat Canada 5-2 in the deciding game of the Final Round series in the inaugural World Cup of Hockey in Montreal.

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Never-say-McColga bounces!

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Athletics

Great North Run

# Never-say-die McColgan bounces back

Duncan Mackay  
in South Shields

**L**IZ McCOLGAN put the disappointment of the Olympic Games behind her yesterday when she won the Great North Run in a dramatic finish.

The Dundee woman, the favourite for the marathon gold medal in Atlanta before she was stricken by illness when she was bitten by an insect two days before the race and finished 16th, clawed back 12 seconds in the last mile on the long-time leader Esther Kiplagat.

McColgan dug deep and swept past the Kenyan with only 200 metres of the half-marathon remaining to retain her title in 1hr 10min 28sec.

"No one knows what I went through in Atlanta," McColgan said. "I was in fabulous shape but the bite poisoned my whole blood system. I was laid low for a long time after the Olympics but, whereas some people might stand back and give up, I'm the opposite." Indeed, the phrase "never say die" could have been invented for her.

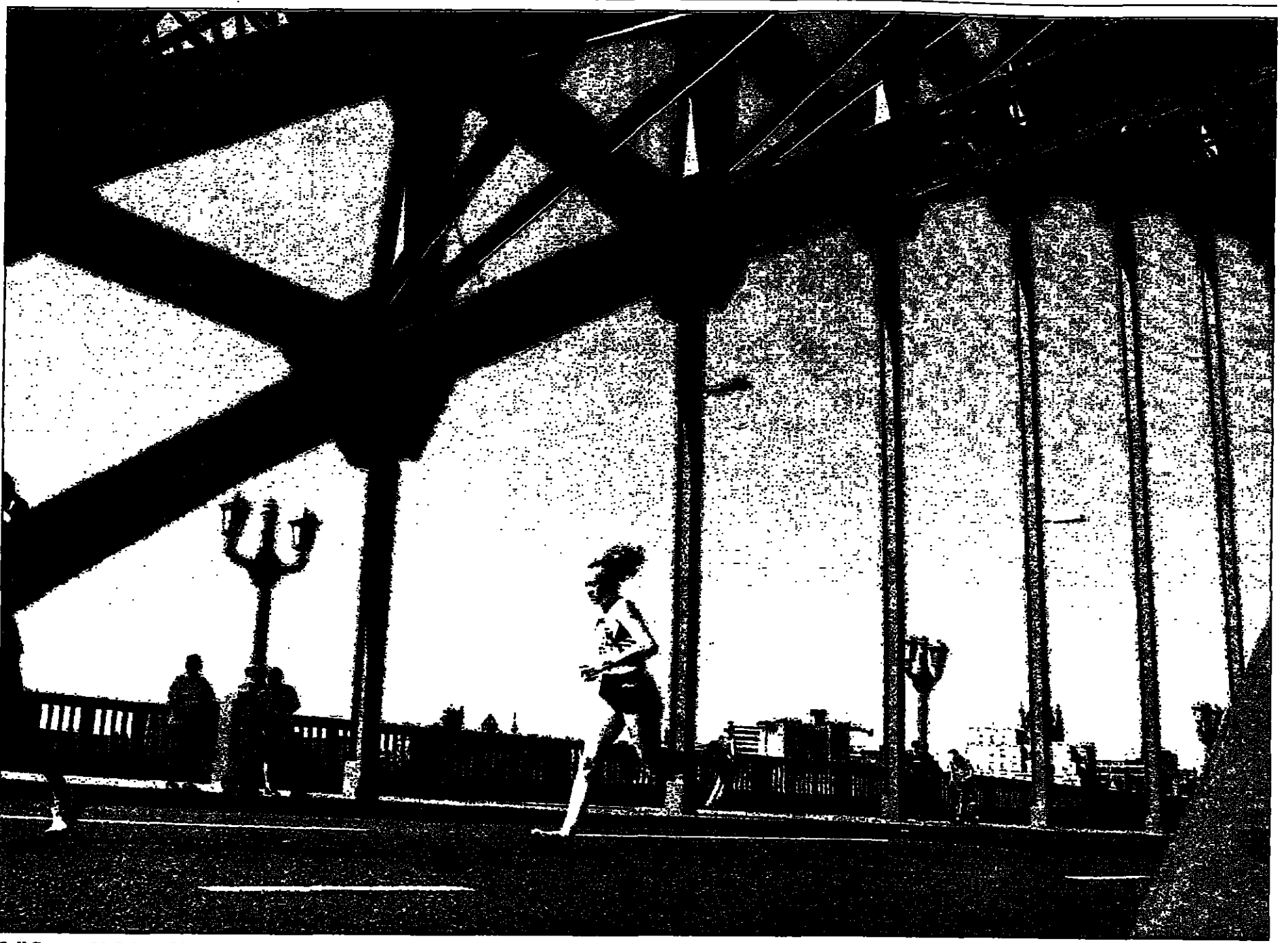
Kiplagat and McColgan's great Scottish rival Yvonne Murray, racing seriously beyond 10,000 metres for the first time and having her first race for more than

a year after a back injury, quickly dropped her as they set up a brutal battle over the undulating route from Newcastle to South Shields. Immediately after eight miles Murray fell off the pace as she paid the price for her early enthusiasm. She eventually faded to fourth, nearly two minutes behind McColgan, who beat her for the first time in nine years. But Kiplagat ploughed on remorselessly.

However, as blue skies and large crowds greeted the runners on their descent to the coastal finish, McColgan's racing antennae sensed that Kiplagat was weakening. The roar that swirled up from the roadside warned Kiplagat that she was coming. The eight-second gap McColgan opened up in these last few metres was evidence of how badly the Kenyan folded.

McColgan will now run in the world half-marathon championships in Palma in two weeks' time before tackling the Tokyo marathon in November and the London marathon next spring.

The men's race was easily won by Kenya's Benson Masya in 1.01.43 for the fourth time in six years with Paul Evans runner-up for the second time, 12 seconds behind. Evans, like McColgan, retained the British half-marathon title from a record field of 32,000.



Full flow... McColgan, bitterly disappointed by her Olympic failure, crosses the Tyne Bridge early in the Great North Run on her way to victory

PHOTOGRAPH: TED DITCHBURN

Hockey  
He cheers for Superleague  
tears for the Canadian

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## Golf Parnevik pitches in as Monty overheats

David Davies  
at St Nom la Bretèche

**A**T 10 minutes past noon yesterday Colin Montgomerie launched his final round of the Trophée Lancôme with five successive birdies. That frenetic start took him from eight under to 13 under and gave him a two-shot lead over a bewildered Jesper Parnevik.

Just over four hours later, however, the situation was virtually reversed. Parnevik, who had clung to the rails while the storm blew itself out, finished with a three-under 67 for a 13-under total of 268. A stunned and shattered Montgomerie came in with a 71 to be five adrift. The Scot had suffered a seven-stroke turn-around in 13 holes and, instead of winning the £100,000 that went to Parnevik, had to settle for £72,310.

crossed over to get the best view. All this had a deleterious effect on the short-faced Scot and on the 10th he became further exasperated with a French photographer, and with justification.

As Montgomerie settled into his stance, off went the camera and out came the full range of pained protests. He glared, backed away, flapped his arms around and shouted: "You guys should know better." Then, as he approached the green, he said to one particular man: "No more, okay?", jabbing a forefinger at him, "no more when I'm addressing the ball."

On the 11th tee he spotted a woman spectator with a camera and pointed at her with his club until a marshal arrived and told her to desist. All these were distractions he could have done without when attempting to win a tournament.



Montgomerie... short fuse

gesture that says, "What can I do?" The answer turned out to be not much.

Both men had hit massive drives and Parnevik then hit a wedge to two feet. Montgomerie followed to five feet but hit a tentative putt that did not touch the hole. When Parnevik holed, the Scot was behind for the first time since the end of the third round.

Things got worse at the 13th, where Parnevik fashioned a lovely faded second from the rough on to the green and Montgomerie, looking for the same shot, instead found a pull that ran through the green on the left. He had to hole from seven feet for a bogey to fall two behind.

The tournament was decided at the 14th. Parnevik was down the middle, Montgomerie in the right rough and, perhaps sensing the kill, the Swede hit a superb second to five feet. The Scot, again trying for a gentle fade, overdid it this time, found the bunker and his eventual bogey, to the Parnevik birdie, meant that his rival had now established a four-shot margin.

Montgomerie had played most of the back nine in temper-tantrum mode but, by allowing it to get to him, he was hurting only himself. To suggest, however, as did one Sunday newspaper, that by taking over some of the next-to-non-existent marshalling duties, he and his caddie were exhibiting "job culture" is to fail to understand not just tournament golf but golf itself.

Professionals pursuing pounds, points and a career are entitled to the basic courtesies, the proper etiquette afforded to every golfer in every golfing circumstance, and the French have much to do to put their house in order.

## World tour breakthrough

**W**HAT in essence will be a World Tour is to start up in 1999, writes David Davies. Its events will be run jointly by a committee bringing together the current four major championships and a new body, the PGA Tours International Federation, itself made up of representatives of the five principal circuits.

European Tour's executive director, said yesterday: "We will be dedicated to building on what already exists. We hope to have three new championship events, consisting of a 72-hole strokeplay on the lines of the Johnnie Walker World Championship, an expanded version of the Andersen Consulting Matchplay Championship and a World Team Championship, perhaps along the lines of the current World Cup."

current Sony rankings, possibly modified, will be used to determine who plays in what on the new tour, with all four majors agreeing the first time to player entry via position in the rankings. The Open and the US PGA already do this in large measure; the US Open and the Masters do not. Schofield, who has been trying for years to get more Europeans into the majors, said: "The Americans, under their new commissioner Tim Finchem, do see life more internationally."

## Davies in seventh heaven for Solheim test

**L**AURA DAVIES achieved the 47th victory of her career and retained her English Open title at The Oxfordshire course yesterday with a fine round of 67.

She finished with a 15-under-par aggregate of 278, four clear of Sweden's Helen Alfordsson with Laura Navarro of Spain in third on 281.

Davies managed three birdies and an eagle on the way to her seventh win of the year but the £15,000 prize was not enough to move her in front of Alfordsson at the top of the European money list. "I hadn't holed a putt until that eagle at the seventh," said Davies. "Now for the Solheim Cup. It is time to do battle and make sure that we enjoy it, win or lose."

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Cricket

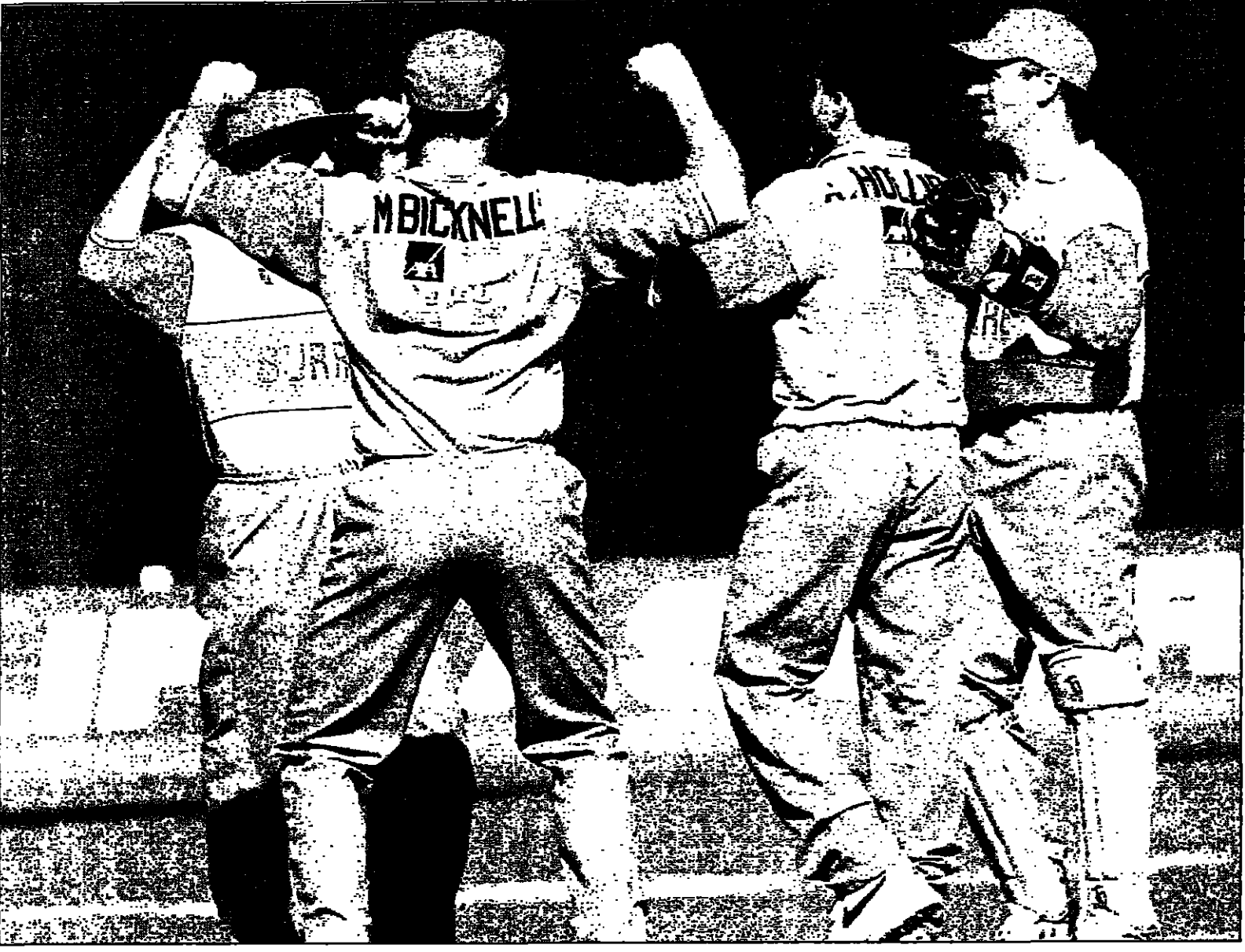
SUNDAY LEAGUE: David Foot sees Alec Stewart relish a first taste of success with his county with an easy one-day victory over Glamorgan in Cardiff

Surrey enjoy a stroll in the Gardens

NOTHING could look less like The Oval than Sophia Gardens with its parkland surroundings. But the Surrey side, which has been in the top six of the Sunday League for some time, is about to be crowned champion...

Final table

Table with 5 columns: Team, P, W, L, D, N. Lists teams like Surrey, Northants, Yorkshire, etc.



Happy ending... Graham Thorpe, Martin Bicknell and Alec Stewart congratulate Adam Hobbie on bowling Tony Cottee

Yorkshire v Nottinghamshire

Cairns puts the crowd under fire before victory fades to the academic

David Hopps at Scarborough

VICTORY for Surrey in Wales rendered the clash between Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire the sides lying second and third, meaning that the Nottinghamshire batsmen were fated to finish runners-up by virtue of Surrey's superior run rates.

Nottinghamshire's commitment to Wales was a desperate ploy to much of their cricket as they strove for some satisfaction in an otherwise undistinguished season.

challenging total of 251 for five was due principally to a late bout of hitting by Chris Cairns. With fewer than six overs remaining, there were no tactical niceties to concern him, just a need for violent hitting, a task he took up superbly with an unbeaten 38 from 16 balls.

were threatened once more when the penultimate over, again from Hartley, cost 21. The last 10 overs brought 33. Johnson's half-century from 43 balls, a happy turn of fortune, extended Roblinson's sound early work but his sweeping at Gough looked unadvisable, even on a Sunday.

mood until he lay back to cut and was caught by Bates at backward point off Cairns, who then bowled White and had McGrath caught at long-off for three wickets in successive overs.

Derbyshire's Sunday collection costs Warwickshire £10,000

IT IS not the winning that is important. It is what you do if that really counts, as Derbyshire and Warwickshire demonstrated over the weekend.

Warwickshire, put in, struggled to a meagre 156 for nine in their 40 overs on a slow pitch at Derby. Kim Barnett and Dean Jones, in contrast, got Derbyshire off to a flying start with an opening stand of 70 in 15 overs, with Barnett going on to an unbeaten 57.

Yesterday's board

Table with 2 columns: Match, Result. Lists matches like AXA Equity & Law League, Warwickshire, etc.

DURHAM

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like R I Davidson, S G Hutton, etc.

GLoucestershire

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like R I Davidson, S G Hutton, etc.

ESSEX v SUSSEX

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like D P Fulton, C Kendall, etc.

Saturday's board

Table with 2 columns: Match, Result. Lists matches like County Championship, Essex v Sussex, etc.

KENT

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like D P Fulton, C Kendall, etc.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE v LANCAshIRE

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like J E R Gallian, S P Thibault, etc.

Cricket

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Counties update

Table with 2 columns: County, Points. Lists counties like Derbyshire, Durham, etc.

Complete county scores

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KENT v HAMPSHIRE

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like M V Fleming, J B Waller, etc.

STARTING XI

Table with 2 columns: Player, Role. Lists players like M A Stubbins, J B Waller, etc.

LEICESTERSHIRE

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs/Wickets. Lists players like J B Waller, M V Fleming, etc.

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Basketball

Tigers roam free at circus

Robert Pryce

STEVE BUCKNALL has described the new American-dominated Budweiser League as a "circus". The Hamel Royals had thought they would not be playing the circus again this year but on Saturday they opened the new season in much the same way as they set out on the last, by falling flat on their faces.

They should be fine once they settle. They have four Americans and a Nigerian international joining such stalwarts as Leon Noel but on Saturday they played like strangers. That was understandable as Allen Kooch, their playmaking guard, had arrived in the country only the day before after a delay in receiving his work permit.

Cruelly abusing the Tigers' hospitality and generosity, the Thames Valley Tigers, sprinted to a 36-16 lead at the end of the first quarter. In the third quarter, after a 19-0 three-minute burst, they led 75-42 on the way to a 116-82 win.

Hockey

Bhatti is star in new role

EAST GRINSTEAD's Mahmood Bhatti, whose skills would surely have been utilised by most national selectors but have failed to excite England's or Britain's, produced a five-star performance in front of the Olympic team manager David Whittle to lead his side to victory in the Hampstead and Westminster Challenge at Paddington yesterday.

Pat Rowley

Grinstead defeated Guildford on the holders, 4-1 in the final of the annual 12-team tournament with Bhatti, a former winger, revelling in his switch to midfield. Bhatti, along with his young team-mates, had an outstanding tournament and showed a good understanding of the new off-side rule. He made the openings for Richard Gibson to give Grinstead a 2-0 lead and cracked in the fourth after Danny Hall had pulled one back for Guildford.

Vertical advertisements on the right edge of the page, including 'Berger', 'Poor pard', and 'Working chance'.





Cometh the 45 minutes, cometh the man... Berger hammers home his second straight left as Grayson struggles to get back

LAURENCE GRIFFITHS

Premiership: Leicester City 0, Liverpool 3

# Berger shows Collymore the way

Paul Weaver

ROY EVANS, the Liverpool manager, had warned that Patrik Berger was not so much knocking on the first-team door as threatening to smash it down. Yesterday the 22-year-old Czech international took it off its hinges — and it fell flat on Stan Collymore.

Berger, a \$3 million signing from Borussia Dortmund, had made only one brief appearance this season. Yesterday he replaced Collymore, perhaps for good, at half-time. By the end he had scored two fine goals, as many as Collymore and Robbie Fowler have managed between them all season, to put his club on top of the Premiership table.

The Czech is not so much a striker as an attacking midfielder but it is difficult to imagine Liverpool not finding a way to integrate such a gifted player into the team. Berger rushed away directly after the game to prepare for international duty and left the talking to John Barnes. "He's world-class and you need as many world-class players as you can find if you're going to take on the likes of Manchester United and Newcastle," he said. "He's got great vision, great strength and can play one-two. I thought he was the best Czech player in the summer, even though he was not always in the side."

It was not only Collymore who struggled in the first half. Liverpool looked jaded following last week's trip to Finland, where they defeated MyPa 4-1 in the Cup Winners' Cup. And Leicester, who have now won only one of their six games, began playing neat, assertive football and were the more impressive side in the first half. Liverpool appear to represent the yardstick for every other club and Leicester's manager Martin O'Neill said he was pleased at half-time although he felt his team should have scored in the first minute, when Emile Heskey's powerful header brought an outstanding reflex save from David James. But, once Berger came on, a disappointing match was never the same again. Almost immediately he had a shot blocked, and it appeared to galvanise the entire side. He scored the first in the 58th minute with an emphatic left-footed finish after Julian Watts allowed Steve McManaman to dispossess him. Liverpool went 2-0 up three minutes later when Kasey Keller allowed Mickey Thomas's low, firm drive to squirm under his body. And Berger completed the scoring after 78 minutes with another fierce left-footed shot after Fowler had dummed Jason McAteer's pass. Evans said: "The change made all the difference. Sometimes it can be difficult [for the opposition] picking up a player in a deeper position. It was a dream debut by Patrik. There were a few on the bench waiting to get on but Patrik got his chance and he took it well."

"I remember Ian St John scoring a hat-trick on his debut at Everton but this must rank as one of the best starts. He added a new pace to the game immediately he came on and it was something we needed badly." O'Neill, whose team have now failed to score in four of their matches, shrugged: "We played well in the first half but I'm not interested in moral victories over 45 minutes. The game lasts for 90. Berger is obviously a class player. Unfortunately he's not in my team."



A strain on the eyes... George Graham can hardly bear to watch his new club

PAUL TOWSE

Coventry City 2, Leeds United 1

# Graham fails to draw any instant dividend

Commentary

David Lacey

SO GEORGE GRAHAM did not return to football with a bang, let alone a bung. Within a minute of his inaugural match as manager of Leeds United he had received the unsolicited gift of a goal from his new team. But Coventry City scored twice in eight minutes early in the second half and Graham took no profit from an afternoon which he ended by hoarsely denying a Saturday morning headline.

Even the hoarseness had an innocent explanation. After 19 months out of football — the year's ban for receiving irregular payments on foreign transfer deals at Arsenal plus a seven-month sabbatical — Graham's voice was not ready for immediate use on the training pitch. As to the headline, well this concerned the manner of Graham's arrival at Elland Road following the dismissal of Howard Wilkinson early last week. Graham, the report alleged, had been paid a six-figure retainer by Leeds's new owners, the Caspian Group, to hold himself ready in case Wilkinson went. Readers were invited to consider Graham's rejection of other job offers, Manchester City for example, and to put two and two together. Graham dismissed the report completely. "I had a laugh about it," he said, "and I deny it emphatically. Everybody's got the wrong idea about other things, what happened at other clubs. Everybody's got completely the wrong end of the stick. I wanted to come back at the top with a top team."

Leeds are hardly that at the moment but the potential is obvious. Yet there is, as Graham admits, much to do if the team is to regain the prestige briefly held when Wilkinson won the Championship four years ago. In terms of league position there would appear to be no comparison between the club's situation now and the job taken on by Don Revie when Leeds made him their manager in 1964. At that time the team were heading for the old Third Division. When Wilkinson was sacked they were in the top half of the Premiership and until Saturday had not lost away from home. Yet in the modern game, totally dominated by money and run by people ever more impatient for success, Graham could be said to have a

'Everybody's got the wrong end of the stick. I wanted to come back with a top team.'

more difficult task on his hands. It took Revie three years to get Leeds promoted and another four to win a trophy, the 1968 League Cup. They did not win the Championship until 1969. Graham's employers do not give the impression of being prepared to wait so long. Revie was appointed by Harry Reynolds, a craggy rough diamond of a self-made millionaire who lived in a two-up-two-down terraced house and was a Leeds United man to the core. Graham has been brought in by a group of city slickers with an eye for a business opportunity. For Caspian, a large part of Graham's appeal lay in the fact that during his nine years at Arsenal he won as

much as Revie did in 13 at Elland Road. But he will need time. At Highfield Road Leeds played not so much like a team going nowhere as a team wanting to go somewhere but waiting to be shown the way. Injuries had weakened the side but the attitude was more committed than it had been in the latter days under Wilkinson. The experience of Rush and Hately had a calming effect on the teens and twenties around them and Palmer did not rush up as many blind alleys as usual. Martyn's class in goal was seen at its best on the stroke of half-time when he diverted a shot from Pelford on to a post, and for a while the defence looked less porous. In the end, however, defending a lead for 89 minutes proved too much for Leeds, who had gone ahead after 51 seconds when Rush laid back Gray's centre for Couzens to beat Ogrizovic with a well-struck shot inside the right-hand post. Coventry's first victory of the season eased the pressure on their manager Ron Atkinson, who had earlier received the traditionally mixed blessing of his chairman's vote of confidence. Salako ran through the opposition from the halfway line to bring the scores level after 57 minutes and Whelan, like McAllister a former Leeds player, volleyed in the winner eight minutes later after Dublin had headed on Borrow's free-kick. Atkinson's team talk had been enlightening. "Let's have one of those old-fashioned Saturdays where we come to a game, have a pre-match meal, get the right result and go out and have a few drinks. It seems to work better than all that tactics bollocks." Would that life for the modern football manager was still that simple.

Everton 1, Middlesbrough 2

# Poor pardon from Royle

Ian Ross

JOE ROYLE has been rightly lauded for a refusal to shy away from the truth, however unpleasant. He understands the psyche of the modern supporter better than most of his managerial contemporaries and is not one for excuses. At least he is not normally. Last month, after Everton had opened their season by overwhelming Newcastle United and then outplaying Manchester United for a good hour at Old Trafford, it was almost de rigueur to suggest that any Premiership challenge from Merseyside would be bathed in blue, not red, light. At that stage Everton's football held style, arrogance and courage. Four weeks on and Royle is taking solace where and when he can find it, insisting on Saturday that his team played better than against Wimbledon the previous weekend. That was not too

difficult as they had lost 4-0 at Selhurst Park. They did not deserve to lose this game, he said. That is debatable, if only because, like squabbling children in a supermarket, Everton's defenders cried out for admonishment. There were, he reported, some encouraging aspects, notably the return to form of the wing Andrei Kanchelskis. Bearing in mind that Kanchelskis spent much of the afternoon exploring the tired old theory that the average full-back will fall, often and gamely, for the most transparent of tricks, it was a baffling argument. Despite the influx of players with impeccable pedigrees and deep pockets, many still find it difficult to make a serious impression. Their manager Bryan Robson has so far resisted the temptation to point out the obvious parallel between the development of his club and Blackburn Rovers, the north's other unassailable giant, sooner or later he surley will.

A fitful, often lethargic, performance from Robson's talented imports was just enough to account for Everton, who only belatedly began to appreciate that hard work in itself is utterly useless. Although Craig Short's headed goal gave Everton the upper hand early on, for extended periods it was not so much a case of modifying the system as finding one. Emerson's calm, almost clinical, prompting in the middle judged the pendulum in Middlesbrough's favour, and, as Duncan Ferguson began to miss chances at one end, they started to go in at the other. Nick Barnby lobbed his side level just after the hour as Unsworth and Short ridiculed the pendulum in Middlesbrough's favour, and, as Duncan Ferguson began to miss chances at one end, they started to go in at the other. Nick Barnby lobbed his side level just after the hour as Unsworth and Short ridiculed the pendulum in Middlesbrough's favour, and, as Duncan Ferguson began to miss chances at one end, they started to go in at the other. Nick Barnby lobbed his side level just after the hour as Unsworth and Short ridiculed the pendulum in Middlesbrough's favour, and, as Duncan Ferguson began to miss chances at one end, they started to go in at the other.

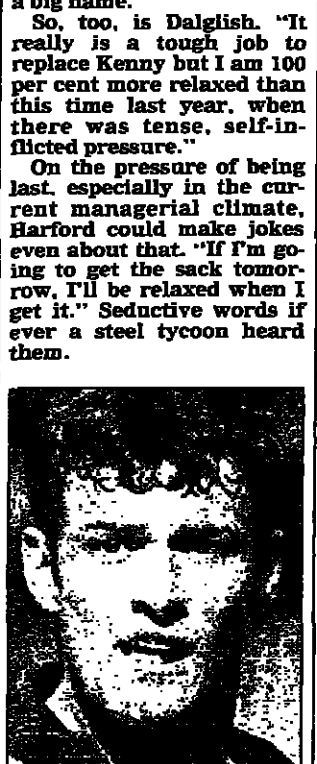
Newcastle United 2, Blackburn Rovers 1

# Newcastle still to face real test of the art of bluff

Michael Walker

THE ability to win while not playing particularly well was a secret of Liverpool's success in the Seventies and Eighties. Manchester United have acquired it over the past few seasons and perhaps Newcastle United are learning it now. Alternatively Newcastle may just be riding their luck at present. However, the explanation, Kevin Keegan was relieved to be saying: "We're renowned for losing games we should have won. This season, we're hanging in."

Keegan had just watched his 14 individuals — "We didn't look like a team" — cling on against a tenacious Blackburn side. More significantly, as in their previous two league games, Newcastle had accumulated another three points in incoherent style. Last season Newcastle jauntily won nine of their first 10 fixtures. It is not often pointed out that nine of those teams were in the bottom 10 places by May. Newcastle have faced only one top-six side so far — Sheffield Wednesday — and lost. We may have to wait until after their next four matches. Leeds and Derby away and Villa and Manchester United at home — to decide if Keegan has discovered a reliable blend. Without Shearer and Ferdinand, Newcastle would not have won this match. Both halves of the £21 million strike force scored, Shearer netting a penalty against his former teammates and Ferdinand poking in a Shearer header with half an hour to go. Both times Blackburn's response belied a side destined for bottom place by the end of the afternoon. Sutton displayed a charismatic intensity, leading the line with a compulsion that



Sutton... 'a big plus'

Southampton 0, Tottenham Hotspur 1

# Sporting chance of Souness finding solution

Don Beet

GRAEME SOUNESS is unlikely to agree with the fan who suggested on Radio 5 Live's Six-O-Six that the solution to Southampton's problems is to sell Matthew Le Tissier. The manager probably has nothing so drastic in mind but he desperately needs to find a cure for his side's ills. Souness's first reaction to this sorry result was to suggest that Saturday night would be a good time to get drunk — hardly the most tactically sound suggestion on the day of Tony Adams's revelations. Tact was never Souness's strong point but determination is and he quickly became more upbeat. "I've been encouraged by what I've seen so far," he insisted. "If I can get the right players, we need not become involved in the usual dogfight." Chance would be a fine thing, Souness knows that the

can. Anderton, clearly far from fit and taken off in the second half is one of several headaches. None, however, are as painful as those afflicting Souness. "That is the second game in a row in which we have shot ourselves in the foot," he complained. "I've got to feel sorry for Neilson, who played well overall, but I didn't at the time." Neilson, in fact, came closest to giving Saints a goal when his 30-yard drive eight minutes before the break was tipped over by Walker, the busier of two largely under-worked goalkeepers. Magilton, Heaney and Le Tissier were the main culprits as other chances went begging. Le Tissier's frustration boiled over when he tangled with Edinburgh and he looked utterly dejected at the end. "I've become a travelling salesman these last few weeks," the manager said. Salesmen sell, Souness, somehow, must buy.

top-flight match in the capital. Joe Kinnear was only half joking when, amid Wimbledon's dreadful start to the season, he declared that his team would soon be looking towards Europe. West Ham have already scoured the Continent in a different way. But many will now doubt the wisdom of that direction. Injuries prevented West Ham deploying the full force of their foreign legion. Raduciu was a non-starter, Futre limped away just after the half-hour, followed later by the ineffectual Dumitrescu. Bilic looked exhausted in the last 20 minutes, slumping to the floor at the final whistle. Dowie and Dicks were comfortably their side's best performers. Perhaps Bilic was drained after all the discussions over his future, which is likely to be resolved by the Croatian signing a new, vastly improved West Ham contract tomorrow.

West Ham United 0, Wimbledon 2

# Fast forwards leave Hammers reeling

Russell Thomas

NEIL SULLIVAN found an easy way to shut out the sight of his Bechham-inspired embarrassment. Wimbledon's goalkeeper taped over it with an episode of EastEnders. If life could only be so simple for West Ham. Yet perhaps Harry Redknapp should keep a video of this match and employ it almost as a manual of mistakes. Even a side of Wimbledon's modest ability could scarcely fail to profit. As West Ham lurched from one unforced error to another, Wimbledon had only to keep the ball in play to secure their latest victory and eighth place. That lofty position says something about Wimbledon's virtues but also much about Premiership limitations. If there is a renaissance of English soccer, it was not easily detectable for Terry Venables and other luminaries watching Saturday's only

Redknapp has become exasperated with Bilic's stance and with the team. "People have got to start doing what they're paid to do," he said. Kinnear congratulated his team on an honest job, honestly done. Sullivan had to make only two saves and, when Wimbledon broke out of disciplined defence, West Ham eased their passage. Breacker allowed Ekoku to slip by and supply Clarke for the first goal. West Ham's central defenders were nowhere in sight when Dicks slipped and Ekoku crisply drove in the second. Wimbledon's manager prefers something more substantial than a sprinkling of foreign stardust. "It's not always about money," Kinnear declared after the game. "You don't always need to spend 20 or 30 million. You do need a bit of brain and you've got to understand what it takes to get results from the Premiership. We've got that in abundance."



**Athletics**  
Liz McColgan storms home in the Great North Run  
**13**

**Cricket**  
Surrey clinch their first Sunday League title  
**14**

**Soccer**  
Berger's double puts Liverpool on top of the table  
**15**

# Sport Extra

## CHELSEA-VILLA STALEMATE AS TOP SPOT GOES BEGGING



Hitchcock horror... Townsend's powerful left-foot drive following a free-kick fulfilled the worst fears of the Chelsea goalkeeper as Villa took the lead

Premiership: Chelsea 1, Aston Villa 1

# Leboeuf holds the bridge

David Lacey

**C**HELSEA and Aston Villa promised to provide an absorbing exercise in foreign studies at Stamford Bridge yesterday but ultimately neither could make out a plausible case for going top of the class.

Intriguing match to a mediocre draw. The first half, played in mid-September sunshine, which belonged more to the Mediterranean than west London, was rich in imaginative passing and movement, with Aston Villa's greater penetration looking capable of winning them the game. But the longer the shadows lengthened the more the second half deteriorated.

with the ball increasingly given away and neither team finding the inspiration to break down well-organised defences. Both Chelsea and Villa are capable of winning something this season but their influence on the championship will be peripheral if neither can show more consistency over 90 minutes.

player overall, while he might have had the most foreign-sounding name, hailed from nowhere more exotic than Hackney. Neither Vialli nor Hughes disturbed the command of Ugo Ehiogu in the Villa defence.

rousing climax but instead it lost the thread of the plot. Although Villa had to be happy with a point they will be disappointed not to have made their earlier superiority tell. This stemmed from the grip established by Curcio, arguably the summer's best buy.

found it hard to come back from 2-0 down and avoid their season's first defeat. They had fallen behind in the 17th minute when Yorke tapped a free-kick to Townsend, whose curling left-footed shot defeated Hitchcock's attempt to keep it out of the top left-hand corner of his net.



For a time Curcio appeared to hold the key to a Villa victory. The Serb's close, neat control enabled him to set up quick exchanges of passes in crowded areas and one such move after 38 minutes might well have started to put the contest beyond Chelsea's reach. After gathering a pass from Milosevic, Curcio worked a one-two with Draper and then made space for a shot with a deft shuffle of the feet.

Word came that Diego Maradona had walked out in a huff after being refused admission to Chelsea's VIP lounge because he was not wearing a tie. As footballing ties go, he did not in the end miss much.

## If Adams can win through, then so can Arsenal

David Lacey on a drink problem which should leave the club stirred, not shaken

**A**T FIRST glance Tony Adams's confession of alcohol addiction was the last thing Arsenal needed right now. Yet, if anything is going to help the club pull themselves together, it could be this.

This evening Arsenal will face Sheffield Wednesday in front of a Highbury crowd already critical of the board's decision to dismiss Bruce Rioch before the season started. By then the club should know when the next incumbent, the Frenchman Arsene Wenger, is due to arrive from Japan.

Wenger is expected to take over before next month. It will not be a moment too soon. Unless somebody else leaves today, Pat Rice will be in charge of the team tonight but the tradition of Arsenal's interests being best served by old Arsenal players has worn mighty thin. An experienced outsider is badly needed to give the club a fresh perspective.

So where does Adams come in? Well, for a start the captain's decision on Friday to explain his alcoholism to the team and ask for support was probably the most honest thing that has occurred at Arsenal for some time.

from the Football Association and, crucially, from Wenger. Certainly Adams, 30 next month, is entitled to command more sympathy now than he did when jailed for a drink-driving offence in 1990.

Whatever he drank, moreover, did not affect his performance on the field. That is the difference between Adams's case and Paul Merson's tearful confession of his addictions two years ago.

Wenger comes from the Continental school of management which demands rather more self-discipline from players than the bacchanalian habits with which Arsenal have been associated for a number of years. Two alcoholics in a team may not be ideal for a new manager but at least Adams and Merson have come to terms with their problems.



Adams... frank admission

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### Guardian Crossword No 20,759

Set by Crispa

**Across**

- Talk of cut after backing strike (8)
- Look for quiet in a religious order (6)
- The top man's cover isn't a fabrication (8)
- A chemist taking cakes to quarters (5)
- In the meadow heart-broken, and that's tough (8)
- Leave defenceless underworld boss with a lot of fighting men (5)
- Notes the answer could be indulgence (10)
- The head taking in a fool—one over enthusiastic (10)
- Angered about article, so complained (6)
- Stuff of real significance (8)
- Representations will be made if game is harmed (6)

**Down**

- Preserve 21 (6)
- Parley—arrange another match (6)
- Brave when a small change hurt (6)
- Opposed to musicians getting in without authority (10)
- Prompt acknowledgments of indebtedness can appear phoney (8)
- Enchanted with one area of London still (8)
- Opinion held about people being given a flat (8)

**13** Made a deal, plainly affected by the squeeze (10)

**15** Pop up to extol value (8)

**16** Getting a letter from a pirate's astonishing (8)

**17** Cry for mercy before following the mean guy (8)

**19** Rage in a frenzy over the French feast (6)

**20** Limited, and superior about it (6)

**21** Promise 1 dn. (5)

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